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1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA SOUTHERN DIVISION	
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4 5 6	BOBBY SINGLETON, et al.,  Plaintiffs,  * 2:21-cv-1291-AMM  * January 6, 2022  vs.  * Birmingham, Alabama  * 9:00 a.m.  JOHN MERRILL, in his official * capacity as Alabama Secretary * of State, et al.,	
9	Defendants. * ******************  EVAN MILLIGAN, et al., *	
10 11	Plaintiffs, * 2:21-cv-1530-AMM * vs.	
12	JOHN MERRILL, in his official * capacity as Alabama Secretary *	
13	of State, et al., * Defendants. * ***********************************	
15 16	MARCUS CASTER, et al., * Plaintiffs, * 2:21-cv-1536-AMM *	
17	vs. *  *  JOHN MERRILL, in his official *	
18 19	capacity as Alabama Secretary * of State, et al., * Defendants. *	
20	**************************************	
21	TRANSCRIPT OF PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION HEARING	
22	VOLUME III	
24	THE HONORABLE TERRY F. MOORER,	
25		
	CHRISTINA K. DECKER, RMR, CRR Federal Official Court Reporter	

101 Holmes Avenue, NE

Huntsville, AL 35801

Proceedings recorded by OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER, Qualified pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 753(a) & Guide to Judiciary Policies and Procedures Vol. VI, Chapter III, D.2. Transcript produced by computerized stenotype. 

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1	<u>PROCEEDINGS</u>
2	(In open court.)
3	JUDGE MARCUS: Good morning. Do we have counsel for
4	Milligan?
08:59:59 5	MR. NAIFEH: Good morning, Your Honor. This is Stuart
6	Naifeh for the Milligan.
7	JUDGE MARCUS: Good morning to you. And for
8	Singleton?
9	MR. BLACKSHER: For Singleton, Your Honor, Jim
09:00:08 10	Blacksher is here. I am sure there are others, too.
11	JUDGE MARCUS: Good morning to you. And for Caster?
12	MS. KHANNA: Good morning, Your Honor, Abha Khanna for
13	the Caster plaintiffs.
14	JUDGE MARCUS: Good morning. And for the Secretary of
09:00:20 15	State?
16	MR. LACOUR: Good morning, Your Honor. Edmund LaCour
17	for the Secretary of State.
18	JUDGE MARCUS: And for I see we have Mr. Davis.
19	Good morning to you.
09:00:2620	MR. DAVIS: Good morning, Your Honor. Mr. Walker is
21	in the building, and he is logging on as we speak. But he is
22	here and ready to proceed.
23	JUDGE MARCUS: So we are ready to proceed as far as
24	both you and Mr. Walker are concerned?
09:00:40 25	MR. DAVIS: Yes, Your Honor.
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JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. Thanks very much. When we broke 1 2 late yesterday in the evening, you were going to reconnoiter 3 amongst yourself and tell us the order in which you chose to proceed on behalf of the plaintiffs. Have you reached a conclusion, and can you share with us the order of the day 09:01:01 5 6 today? 7 MR. NAIFEH: Good morning, Your Honor. The order that we have agreed upon is that the plaintiffs, the Caster and the Milligan plaintiffs will call their Gingles witnesses, the Gingles I, II, and III, and then the defendants will call 09:01:21 10 11 Mr. Bryan. And then we will proceed with our Senate factors 12 experts when Mr. Bryan concludes his testimony. 13 JUDGE MARCUS: On Gingles I, II, and III, how many experts and witnesses do you have, Mr. Naifeh? 14 MR. NAIFEH: We have the Milligan plaintiffs, 09:01:40 15 16 Gingles I expert, Dr. Duchin, and then there are -- Caster and 17 Milligan each have a Gingles II and III expert. So three 18 experts total. 19 JUDGE MARCUS: Three experts. And do you think we 09:01:53 20 will get to Mr. Bryan today, or does that look like a pipe dream? 21 22 MR. NAIFEH: From the plaintiffs' perspective, we 23 think it's possible we could get to Mr. Bryan toward the end of 24 the day.

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JUDGE MARCUS: I just wanted to make sure, though,

09:02:08 25

that Mr. Davis and Mr. Walker have a chance to have a full day 2 to get Bryan on. I only say that if you spill over into 3 tomorrow with Gingles I, II, and III, I want to make sure that we have a chance for Bryan to be heard. That won't be a 09:02:29 5 problem for you, Mr. Naifeh? MR. NAIFEH: I don't believe so, Your Honor. 6 7 expect that we will get through all of the Gingles experts today. And Mr. Bryan, if we don't get to him today, he would still have all day tomorrow. JUDGE MARCUS: So I take it, Mr. Davis, Bryan is set 09:02:43 10 11 up for either late today or all day tomorrow starting in the 12 morning? 13 MR. DAVIS: Yes, Your Honor. Whether we begin today 14 and finish tomorrow or whether we begin tomorrow, we will be ready to go. 09:02:57 15 16 JUDGE MARCUS: Thanks very much, and you may proceed, 17 counsel, with your next Gingles witness. 18 MR. NAIFEH: The Milligan plaintiffs would like to 19 call Dr. Moon Duchin. 09:03:0620 MOON DUCHIN, 21 having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as 22 follows: 23 JUDGE MARCUS: Would you be kind enough to state your 24 name for the record. 09:03:23 25 THE WITNESS: Sure. My name is Moon Duchin, and I am

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a professor of mathematics and a senior fellow in the College 2 of Civic Life at Tufts University. 3 JUDGE MARCUS: Welcome to you. Thank you very much. And, counsel, you may proceed. 09:03:36 5 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. NAIFEH: 6 7 Good morning, Dr. Duchin. Can you tell us your educational background? Sure. I have undergraduate degrees in mathematics and women's studies from Harvard University. And then a master's 09:03:49 10 11 and Ph.D. in mathematics from the University of Chicago. 12 We touched on this already, but what is your current 13 professional position or positions? 14 I did, yes. I am a professor at Tufts University and hold several affiliated positions there, but in particular as I just 09:04:10 15 16 mentioned, I am a senior fellow in the Civics College at Tufts. 17 Do you have any other affiliations at Tufts University? 18 I do. I've been directing the program in science technology and society, and I hold a collaborating faculty 19 09:04:30 20 position in the Department of Race, Colonialism, and Diaspora Studies. 21 22 And are you affiliated with an entity called the MGGG lab? 23 That's right. I'm the principal investigator of a lab that's part of the College of Civics. It's called the MGGG 24 09:04:50 25 redistricting lab and it's an interdisciplinary lab whose staff

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has been up to 20 people. 1 2 What does MGGG stand for? 3 That stands for Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group. And what that reflects is that I use my mathematical specialty, 09:05:08 5 which is called metric geometry, to try to understand redistricting. 6 7 And you are a full professor at Tufts University? 8 I am. Α And how long have you been a professor at Tufts? I've been on the faculty since 2011. 09:05:20 10 11 How long have you been a full professor? Q 12 Full professor, about a year. Α 13 As a math professor and principal investigator at the MGGG lab, what does your research focus on? 14 I have a few research specialties in pure mathematics, but 09:05:41 15 16 particularly as part of the lab, we look at geometry and 17 computation and how these help you understand redistricting. 18 So have you done research on issues related to 19 redistricting and can you describe some of that? 09:06:11 20 Α I have --I will try to speak more --21 22 Actually, can everyone hear me okay? 23 JUDGE MARCUS: We can hear you fine. Again, if everyone will take their time and speak up loudly and slowly so 24 09:06:22 25 our court reporter can get everything down. She transcribes

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everything as we go forward, but it's a little bit more 2 difficult since we're proceeding wholly remotely. 3 So, counsel, take your time. Dr. Duchin, take your time. THE WITNESS: You bet. 09:06:43 5 BY MR. NAIFEH: 6 Do you need me to repeat the question? 7 Oh, please do. Okay. Can you describe some of your research on issues 8 related to redistricting? 09:06:56 10 Yes. I'd be happy to. 11 I have at this point over a dozen peer-reviewed research papers focused on issues of redistricting. Those appear in 12 1.3 venues like foundations of data science, the election law 14 journal, statistics in public policy, political analysis, and so on. 09:07:20 15 In addition, I've done work supporting line drawing bodies 16 17 in states around the country. 18 And are you familiar with the scholarly literature on 19 census, racial and ethnic categories? 09:07:37 20 I am. I have researched and taught courses covering the history of the census, focused on the U.S. Census Bureau. 21 22 Okay. And can you describe your background working with 23 demographic data?

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uses the data set that comes from the U.S. census, namely --

Sure. I -- the heart of all of the data work that I do

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09:08:03 25

especially the decennial census data and the -- what we call PL 94-171. And also a number of other useful data products from the bureau.

I recently was the principal investigator of a grant from the national science foundation, a million dollar grant to study what I called network science of census data. One of the leading experts in the nation on the disclosure avoidance systems that are used in the census, particularly what is called differential privacy, which was instituted this year. Or in this census, I should say.

Q Given your background, what expertise did you bring to bear in formulating the opinions in this case?

A Knowledge of census data, knowledge of redistricting, and of balancing the principles involved in redistricting, particularly metrics such as compactness.

Q Other than for this case, have you prepared redistricting plans?

18 A I have.

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Q Can you describe your experience preparing redistricting plans?

A Yes. I've prepared plans widely for demonstrative purposes. For example, my lab has partnered with a non-profit organization called More Equitable Democracy to examine various redistricting situations around the country, and to consider the question of whether districts or alternative systems such

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as rank choice might perform better.

In the context of those studies, I looked at places from the Chicago City Council to Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana; Jones County, North Carolina; King County, Washington; localities really around the country where demonstrative plans were part of the work.

In addition, I was the redistricting expert consultant for the Massachusetts State Senate in this cycle, where I helped, in particular, to draw the voting rights district in that body. I consulted for the people's maps commission in Wisconsin in this cycle, where I drew demonstrative plans for Congress, State Senate, and State House.

Those are a few examples of work around the country.

Q Thank you. And have you previously testified as an expert witness in federal court?

- 16 A Not in a federal court.
- 17 0 In state court?
- 18 A I did earlier this week in North Carolina.
- 19 Q Okay. And in that case did the Court allow you to testify o9:11:0720 as an expert witness?
  - 21 A They did.
  - 22 Q Okay.

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MR. NAIFEH: Your Honor, I would like -- Your Honors,
I would like to tender Dr. Duchin as an expert witness in
redistricting, applied mathematics, quantitative redistricting

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analysis and demography and use of census data. 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: Why don't you go a little bit more 3 slowly so our court reporter can take it down. You started out with an expertise in redistricting. What do you have after 09:11:33 5 that? MR. NAIFEH: Applied mathematics, quantitative 6 7 redistricting analysis, and demography and use of census data. 8 JUDGE MARCUS: Is there any challenge to Dr. Duchin's qualifications in those six or seven areas that have been 09:11:53 10 outlined? 11 MR. LACOUR: None from the defendants, Your Honor. 12 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Seeing no objection, we will qualify Dr. Duchin as an expert in each of the areas, 13 14 Mr. Naifeh, that you have identified. MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Your Honor. 09:12:09 15 BY MR. NAIFEH: 16 17 Dr. Duchin --18 JUDGE MARCUS: You may proceed with your examination 19 of your expert witness. 09:12:17 20 MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Your Honor. BY MR. NAIFEH: 21 22 Dr. Duchin, did you prepare any reports in this case? 23 I did. I believe three submissions in all. 24 And do you have copies of those reports in front of you today? 09:12:30 25

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A I do, on the computer.

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- Q And what were the questions you were asked to opine on in this case?
  - A The principle question that I was asked to study was the question of whether it is possible to draw two majority-black districts out of the seven congressional districts in Alabama while maintaining the traditional redistricting principles to a very high degree.

Once I determined that it was possible to draw two majority-black districts, I was asked to produce plans that demonstrate that possibility and my report contains four such plans.

- Q And what tests did you apply to determine whether it is possible to create two majority-black districts in Alabama's congressional plan?
- A The best proof of possibility is proof by example. And so being able to furnish four plans demonstrates that it is possible to do so.
- Q And can you summarize what conclusion you reached with regard to whether it is possible to draw a congressional plan that includes two majority-black districts in Alabama?
- 22 A I concluded that it is possible.
  - Q In preparing your reports did you have occasion to consider the congressional redistricting plan adopted by the state of Alabama last fall?

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I did do so. 1 2 Okay. And is it okay if I refer to that plan as HB-1? 3 Yes. Do you understand what I am referring to? I do. I believe I call it that in my reports. 09:14:24 5 And I'd like to turn to demographics of Alabama. 6 before we talk specifically about Alabama, can you please tell us about how race is categorized in census data? Yes. Today on the U.S. census, on the short form that's used in the decennial census, respondents are faced with six 09:14:49 10 11 choices -- well, respondents are faced with choices that the 12 census categorizes into six racial groups or categories. 13 Particularly the respondents are faced with certain yes-no 14 questions. There's a check box answer to the question "are you white". There's a check box answer to the question "are you 09:15:16 15 black or African-American," and so on. 16 17 Because there are six categories, those can be responded 18 to in any of a large number of ways, particularly it would be 19 two to the sixth or 64 different combinations, except that the 09:15:39 20 a respondent cannot elect none of the racial categories. that makes 63 different ways that the census categorizes the 21 22 racial responses. 23 There's a separate ethnicity question, which is another yes-no question effectively, asking respondents if they are 24

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09:15:58 25

Hispanic or not.

So for racial and ethnic combinations that doubles the 1 2 number of possibilities to 126. Quite a lot of ways to 3 identify. And just to be clear, when you say there are these check 09:16:16 5 boxes, someone completing the census form can check more than one box. Is that your testimony? 7 That's right. This was a change adopted by the Office of Management and Budget in the 1990s, where it became possible for the first time in recent history to elect multi-racial identities explicitly. 09:16:37 10 11 And so the census does the census allow people to identify 12 themselves as both black and another race? 1.3 It does. You could choose black and white; black, white 14 and Asian, and so on. And does the census allow people to identify themselves as 09:16:55 15 both black and Hispanic? 16 17 It does. Α 18 And also black and non-Hispanic? 19 That's correct. Α 09:17:05 20 And does the census categorize those who have selected black and another race or ethnicity? 21 22 Could you ask that again, please? Sure. Is there a category that includes people who have 23 identified themselves as black in addition to another race or 24 ethnicity? 09:17:31 25

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A Well, the way that I've constructed black in my reports, which some call any part black and which I believe Mr. Bryan calls all black, it is to take everyone who answered yes to the yes-no question "are you black". And so that's the most expansive possible construction of black.

It takes, again, everyone who answered yes to the question. That means that it includes people who identify as black in combination with other races. That means that it includes people who identify as Hispanic or not. As long as they answered yes to the question "are you black".

Q And what is -- is there a more narrow definition of black that is sometimes referred to when referring to census data?

A There are. There are several more restrictive constructions. The most restrictive would be what is sometimes called black alone, or non-Hispanic black alone. And that would be those who select black, no other race, and the non-Hispanic ethnicity. So that would, of course, be the narrowest possible construction. Some call that single-race black also.

I would note that there are other possibilities in between those two extremes, between the most restrictive and the most expansive. For instance, the Department of Justice issued guidance with a fairly complicated definition that includes single race for non-Hispanic respondents, includes single-race black, black and white, and then a fraction of all the

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multi-racial black identities. So I would call that a more 2 complicated construction that's intermediate between the 3 narrowest and broadest. And you testified in this case you relied on the any part black or the broadest definition of black; is that right? 09:19:44 5 I did, as my principle construction. 6 7 Okay. And why did you use that category in this case? I believe there are multiple reasons to do so, but the simplest is the one that I have already emphasized, which is that respondents were asked are you black. And I included all 09:20:01 10 11 those who answered yes. 12 There are other reasons, particularly looking at the 13 history of the census that I believe that to be a justified 14 practice. And I could give an example, if that's of interest. Please do. 09:20:22 15 Sure. So, for instance, earlier in the Twentieth Century, 16 17 in the 1930s, there had been several multi-racial black 18 categories on the census, particularly Mulatto, Quadroon, and 19 Octoroon. These were all census categories up through the 1920 09:20:49 20 census. They were eliminated in the 1920s and only black then appeared on the 1930 short form. 21 22 But the instructions that the bureau issued to its 23 enumerators explicitly told the enumerators to take everyone who previously would have belonged to a multi-racial black and 24 09:21:11 25 white category and to enumerate them as Negro without

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distinction. Those are the instructions to enumerators from 1930. The instructions went on to say that individuals who were multi-racial should be identified according to the non-white parent.

So this is an example. There's a lot to say about the history of the census. This is an explicit example that made clear that those earlier multi-racial identities that were meant to be understood as under the umbrella of black population.

- Q Dr. Duchin, did you examine Alabama's demographics for this case?
- 12 A Yes, I did.

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- Q And as of the 2020 census, what parts of Alabama have the highest concentrations of black residents?
- A Of course you can find black residents all over the state.

  But in particular, there are two kinds of locus of black

  population that are notable. One is urban and one is rural.

First, in terms of urban population, the largest cities in Alabama have very long-standing and significant black population. In particular, of the five most populous cities in Alabama, four are majority black by population with Mobile slipping just under a majority when you turn to voting age population. So urban concentrations of black voters are an important locus of population in the state.

On the other hand, of course, Alabama has a significant

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rural black population, particularly notable is the Black Belt, which traditionally consists of 18 core counties that span across the state, with sometimes a few more counties, maybe five, added secondarily more towards the west.

So those counties -- I know you have been hearing about the Black Belt already in this trial. But the -- are characterized by many counties with small population that are rural that are historically agricultural. And then I understand to have a shared economic interest.

So that's a second important locus of black population, is that rural population and particularly the Black Belt.

- Q And in the HB-1 plan, which district has the highest concentration of black voters?
- A That would be District 7 by far.

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- 09:24:12 15 Q What is the any part Black Voting Age Population in 16 District 7?
  - A Okay. Here we could pull up my report, if you'd like. I also have it in front of me. And so --
  - 19 Q Can you just tell the Court?
- 09:24:30 20 A Certainly. HB-1 has just over 55 percent BVAP, again, by
  21 my construction in District 7.
  - $22 \parallel Q$  And how does that compare with other districts in HB-1?
  - 23 A There's a fairly steep drop-off to the next district,
  - 24 District 2, with about 30 percent BVAP.
- 09:24:54 25 Q And then beyond District 2?

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Then we see District 1 and 3 near 25 percent, 25, 1 2 26 percent. 3 MR. NAIFEH: And, Mr. Ang, can you pull up Figure 1 on page 3 of Dr. Duchin's report? That's Exhibit M-3, Document 88-3. 09:25:16 5 BY MR. NAIFEH: 7 Dr. Duchin, do you recognize this diagram? I do. 8 Α And what does it show? A So on the left, we see this plan that we're calling HB-1, 09:25:29 10 11 which is the newly enacted congressional plan. And the colors 12 show you the different districts. And I've kept county lines 1.3 so that we can be aware of how those fall. 14 On the right, we see the outlines of the same districts, but now overlaid with what's called a choropleth. It's just a 09:25:53 15 shaded representation of where black population is in the 16 17 state. So this is BVAP shown in these orange tones on the 18 right-hand side. 19 And you just used the term BVAP. Can you explain to the 09:26:15 20 Court what that means? Yes. Sorry. BVAP stands for the Black Voting Age 21 22 Population that I've been describing.

A That's correct. That's the default construction

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Population?

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And in this case that means that any part Black Voting Age

throughout my reports, although I do note other possibilities. 2 And how does HB-1 divide the state's black population into the seven congressional districts? 3 Well, what I see when I look at particularly this figure 09:26:50 5 on the right is hallmarks of what is often called packing and cracking. So we can see that in District 7. Now, that's that 6 7 light blue district, and then you can find the corresponding district on the right. You see that really the great majority of the precincts that are included in the district are heavily black by population share -- by voting age population share. 09:27:16 10 11 And this creates a district with an elevated BVAP overall. 12 On the other hand, when you look around that to the south 13 and east in districts 1, 2, and 3, you see what is sometimes 14 called cracking. In particular, when you look at those dividing boundaries between those districts, you can see that 09:27:41 15 16 they go right through some of these loci of black population, 17 thereby splitting up a population that could have been numerous 18 and geographically compact enough to form a district. 19 About what portion of Alabama's black population resides 09:28:0620 in Congressional District 7? In Congressional District 7, I think that would be 21 22 about -- about a third of Alabama's black population. 23 MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Mr. Ang. We can take that exhibit down. 24

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BY MR. NAIFEH: 1 2 Going back to the questions you were asked to consider, 3 were you able to develop any illustrative plans demonstrating whether it's possible to create two majority-black districts in 09:28:39 5 Alabama? Yes. My report includes plans that I called plan A, B, C, 6 7 and D. And did you use any software to develop the illustrative plans? I did. I used software in a few ways. As a first step, 09:28:52 10 11 as an exploratory step, I used algorithms developed in my lab to create -- to generate large numbers of different 12 1.3 possibilities that would show me if it was possible to find two 14 majority-black districts. And I found that it was possible. My randomized algorithms found plans with two majority-black 09:29:22 15 16 districts in literally thousands of different ways. 17 Convinced that that was possible, I then turned to drawing 18 by hand. And I would emphasize that the role of the maps found 19 by the exploratory algorithms was just then inspiration. 09:29:46 20 Seeing that it was possible and with some of the ideas about how it was possible, I then started with a blank slate and drew 21 22 by hand. 23 I will say a little bit more about that. The hand drawing

I will say a little bit more about that. The hand drawing was done first with the second software package developed in my lab. And here, let me mention that all these software packages

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are public, open source, available for inspection by the public and by counsel at any time.

So the second package is called Districtr. And in it members of the public can draw their own plans. And we use Districtr -- I use Districtr to draw plans at the level of VTDs or precincts. We haven't talked about those yet. But those are the units of census geography that look a lot like the precincts that people vote in.

So the second stage was to draw at the VTD level. And then finally, to balance population, I used finer tools, and in particular, we have a number of Python packages that we use to see the demographics down to the block level, and to understand the properties of plans.

- Q And you mentioned Python. That is the -- is that a programming language?
- A Python is a common open source programming language. And it permits many packages, such as what are called Pandas for working with large data frames and GeoPandas for working with Geo-spatial data. I would say that Python is the language of choice in data science.
- 21 Q Is Python frequently used in redistricting?
- 22 A I would say that it is.

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Q You mentioned that when you hand drew plans, you started from a blank slate. So just to clarify, does that mean -- did you -- did you start from an existing plan?

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Only used some of the concepts I had seen in plans 1 that were found by the exploratory algorithms, but literally 3 started with an empty map of the state when drawing. Okay. And what kind of data did you use to develop the 09:32:18 5 illustrative plans? Again, here, as in my research, by far the largest data 6 7 set is the one from the U.S. Census Bureau, called the PL 94-171. That is block level demographic data that the bureau was directed to compile specifically for redistricting That is the express function of this data set. 09:32:40 10 purposes. 11 In addition, there are number of other highly useful 12 Census Bureau products, such as their TIGER/Line Shapefiles 1.3 that give you the geographical units. Their American Community 14 Survey, which is an annual survey from which we extract information about Citizen Voting Age Population and so on. 09:33:03 15 16 Okay. Are these the same types of data that you would 17 normally use to create a redistricting plan? 18 Definitely. 19 And you mentioned census geography such as census blocks. 09:33:2620 What are census blocks? Okay. So the census maintains a geographical hierarchy of 21 22 units, which has a central spine with six levels. It starts at 23 the nation, as you would expect, subdivides into states, from states to counties, within counties the next unit is called 24 09:33:51 25 census tracts. Those divide into block groups which divide

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into blocks.

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So blocks are the smallest units of census geography.

They're sometimes called the pixels of redistricting. They're the littlest units that you can use as building blocks. There are a great number of them. In the 2010 census there were over 11 million census blocks in the nation. They range in population from 0. They're a substantial number of census blocks 0 population to typically a few hundred people, although sometimes you will find census blocks with much larger population, such as if there are group quarters like prisons or dormitories. So that is a brief description, I hope, of census blocks.

Q And you also mentioned VTDs. Can you tell us what a VTD is, what VTD stands for and what a VTD is?

A Sure. There's a redistricting data program, an office within the Census Bureau, and they undertake every 10 years to communicate with the states and collect information on the boundaries of precincts, which are, as we all probably know, units of election administration that are maintained typically at a local level.

And so the bureau collects this information and compiles them into a product called VTDs. They say that stands for voting district, but most people call them voting tabulation districts, VTDs. And so you should think of those as the Census Bureau's version of local election administration units.

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That makes them particularly useful for redistricting because 2 since they're in the census hierarchy, we can accurately 3 measure demographics, but they're also well-coordinated with local elections, local election administration. And did you use beyond the information from the Census 09:36:00 5 Bureau, did you use any other information or consult any other 7 information when preparing the illustrative plans in this case? I did. And some other sources are listed in my report. 8 But in particular, I consulted the enacted plans from the state, which I obtained from the state's web sites. I looked 09:36:22 10 11 in particular at the congressional plan, of course. But also, 12 for example, at the school board of education plan prepared by 1.3 the state, enacted. 14 And did you consult the state's redistricting guidelines? I did. I did consult the state's redistricting 09:36:42 15 16 quidelines. 17 You mentioned the State Board of Education plan. What 18 did -- why did you obtain information from the State Board of 19 Education plan? 09:36:54 20 The board of education plan was of particular interest to me because it's an eight-district plan. We've already heard 21 22 that the congressional district plan has seven districts. the board of education plan has two that are majority-black. 23 So I was particularly interested to see how the state would con 24 09:37:17 25 instruct a second majority-black district.

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And were there other features in the State Board of 1 2 Education plan that were relevant in drawing the illustrative 3 plans in this case? One of the things that you'll notice across my plans is 09:37:38 5 the -- having to do with Mobile County and with the city of Mobile. And I was interested to see how that would be handled in a second majority-black district. And so I looked to the 7 board of education for an example. Is it your regular practice to look at the redistricting plans for other governmental bodies in determining how to draw 09:37:58 10 11 an illustrative plan for a different set of districts? Yes. Definitely. I would call that a standard practice 12 1.3 of mine. 14 Okay. And you mentioned the Census Bureau's American Community Survey or ACS. What did you use ACS data for? 09:38:20 15 16 In this case, I only used ACS data to estimate what's 17 called BCVAP or Black Citizens Voting Age Population as 18 described in my report. I suppose I should clarify. Not only 19 Black Voting Age Population, but the Citizens Voting Age 09:38:4620 Population of various groups. Okay. How did you use the data and the information that 21 22 you mentioned to create the illustrative plans? 23 Well, as we discussed, my main question was whether I could make plans that had two majority-black districts while 24 09:39:10 25 showing great respect for the other additional districting

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principles. And so the main way that all this data was used 2 was, in fact, many of the redistricting principles touch on 3 census and demographic data. But in particular, I needed to make sure that the districts I was creating would be over 09:39:34 5 50 percent black. Okay. And just sort of mechanically, how do you create a 6 7 redistricting plan using census data? Well, as I described, when drawing, I started out with the 8 Districtr program, which lets you select a paint brush like tool and start to color in the VTDs of the state. You can also 09:39:57 10 11 turn on a feature that captures whole counties. And because 12 county preservation is important, as I'm sure we'll discuss, I 1.3 tried to take whole counties into a district whenever possible. 14 So typically the way you complete a plan is by first drawing with the largest units counties in this case, getting 09:40:23 15 to a place of very coarsely balanced population, and then going 16 to the next smaller units to tune and balance. And so in this 17 18 case, from counties, the next units would be VTDs. 19 You can draw a very reasonably balanced plan, a 1 percent 09:40:49 20 balanced plan at the VTD level. But since, as I'm sure we'll discuss, it's the standard practice to balance congressional 21 22 districts much more tightly. At the last stage, you then break 23 those VTDs down to blocks in order to tune the population. Is that what you had in mind? 24

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Thank you. Yes. That's helpful.

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Q And so you -- is it fair to say that you drew your illustrative plans at the census block level?

A In the end, yes. I found that it was necessary to break some VTDs in order to balance the population. And so I did so at the block level, yes.

Q Okay. And when you tune to the block level and see VTDs and then tune the population of block level, how do you decide where to split precincts?

A Right. So when splitting precincts -- so, first, I tried to keep as many counties whole as possible but had to break some counties. And then when you decide which precincts to split, those would typically be within the already split counties.

By far, the largest consideration when splitting precincts is one of balancing the population. And so by far, the primary consideration is the total population of those blocks so that you can find just the right sizes to balance the population.

Q And when splitting precincts to balance the population and selecting blocks to balance the population, do you ever decide where to split the precinct on the basis of race?

A I would describe the priority order this way: When you have to split a VTD looking to balance population, as I just said, by far, the first thing that I look at is the total population of the blocks. After that, the next consideration I

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had was compactness, trying to make kind of less eccentric and more regular boundaries between districts.

I -- over the course of the many draft maps made, I did sometimes look at race of those blocks, but really, only to make sure that I was creating two districts over 50 percent. Beyond ensuring crossing that 50 percent line, there was no further consideration of race in choosing blocks within the split VTDs.

Q Are you familiar with traditional redistricting principles?

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12 Q And what are they?

A Okay. Well, there are many. But I would identify what I call a big six.

So let me very briefly outline them. First is population balance, or one person one vote. And we've discussed that already. That's the idea that we should balance total population across the districts in a plan. The next and also a federal requirement is minority electoral opportunity. And that's through the lens of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as well as equal protection in the constitution.

So those are two nonnegotiable federal requirements.

Next, I might list two that are fairly easy to measure.

And those -- although not unambiguous, but still readily
quantifiable, and those are compactness and contiguity. And

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then we come to two that are a little bit I would say harder to 2 measure, but nonetheless very important. And that's respect for political boundaries. By that, we usually mean a priority 3 on keeping intact the counties, cities, and towns generally the 09:45:24 5 municipalities, of a state. And finally, respect for communities of interest. 6 7 And did you consider those principles when developing the illustrative plans? I certainly did. Did you also consider the redistricting guidelines adopted 09:45:39 10 11 by the state's reapportionment committee? 12 I did. 13 MR. NAIFEH: And, Mr. Ang, can you please pull up 14 Milligan Exhibit 28? This is Document 88-23. BY MR. NAIFEH: 09:45:51 15 The committee's guidelines include additional criteria 16 17 beyond those you just mentioned? 18 They do. And if we look at this, we can see the whole 19 first page concerns itself with population and minority 09:46:14 20 opportunity to elect and equal protection. And then if we go 21 on to the next page, that very next on the list is contiquity 22 and compactness, which I've mentioned. At that point, this 23 document gets to Alabama state constitutional requirements, which repeat some of the previously listed concepts, and cite, 24 09:46:45 25 you know, once again cite contiguity population balance,

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discuss the number of districts.

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After that, we get to J, which within J, we introduce other principles that are frequently discussed in redistricting, such as consideration for incumbency. This is where communities of interest are cited. And if we advance to the next page, we will see in part (v) of part j. mention of preservation of the cores of existing districts.

I would note that in my reading of this, I noticed in part G here that the criteria identified within j. are stipulated not to be listed in priority order.

To me, the reading that I took from this, and I think the reasonable reading is that the ones listed before part j. should be regarded to take precedence. And so I did take this document quite seriously in listing the federal requirements first, followed by compactness and contiguity with concepts like incumbency consideration and core preservation clearly lower ranked.

Q So in your understanding, the committee guidelines create a higher hierarchy of certain principles over others?

A I think they do. And I think they do so in a manner consistent with what I see in numerous other states.

Q Thank you.

MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Mr. Ang. We can take this exhibit down.

BY MR. NAIFEH:

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Q Dr. Duchin, is it possible that different traditional redistricting criteria might conflict with one another?

A Yes. It's not just possible, it's common place. The criteria are often intention. And to give just a few examples of that, I think it's clear from what I said a moment ago that exact population balance requires you to break up units and so its intention with respecting political boundaries pretty clearly.

Another classic frequently observed example is that compactness can be intention with communities of interest. If you have a well-identified community with important shared interests that itself is residentially located in kind of elongated configuration, then you have a choice to make because keeping that community whole might come at a cost to compactness of your district. That's a frequently observed instance among many where the principles can be in conflict.

offs to -- in observing different redistricting principles?

A Absolutely. I would say -- go so far as to say that

redistricting is all about those trade offs.

In your experience, is it common to have to make trade

Q When you prepared the illustrative plans in this case, did you use -- sorry. I've got that covered.

Did you -- are the illustrative plans you developed the only potential plans for a seven-member congressional district in Alabama?

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A Certainly not.

Q Are the illustrative plans that you developed in this case the only potential plans for a seven-member congressional redistricting plan in Alabama?

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A They're far from the only plans. They're far from -- as you heard me say before, far from the only ones with two majority-black districts. I've seen thousands of examples, and I know that overall, the universe of possibility in Alabama is in the many trillions of trillions. So we're talking about very large number of possible plans over all.

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Q And so just to follow up on that, if you had a different set of redistricting -- of priorities among the redistricting principles, you could draw -- you would draw a different plan that still contained two majority-minority districts; is that right?

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A That's absolutely true. And so as you heard me say a moment ago, after the -- what I took to be nonnegotiable principles of population balance and seeking two majority-black districts, after that, I took contiguity as a requirement and compactness as paramount following the guidelines.

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compactness as paramount following the guidelines.

It would be completely reasonable to take plans like mine

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to take districts, something like my Districts 2 and 7, which then kind of forces District 1 to look more or less as it does. But with the remaining four districts, there's quite a lot of

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latitude. You could adopt, then, a priority on maintaining

district cores, and easily produce a plan that performs better in that regard, but you would do so at a cost particularly to compactness.

So there are certainly trade offs. And I took the reading of the guidelines to put a very high priority on counties and compactness. But while retaining two majority-black districts, many other choices could be made.

Q And in seeking to draw two majority-minority districts, was your goal to maximize the Black Voting Age Population in those two districts?

A Certainly not. We've seen from the state that it's possible to have a substantially higher BVAP in a district, and I can tell you that it's possible, while having two districts to still have a substantially higher BVAP in a district, that was simply not my goal.

Q And were there times in drawing the illustrative plans when you made the decisions that had the effect of reducing the Black Voting Age Population in one of the minority-majority black districts in order to satisfy other redistricting principles?

A Definitely. I took, for example, county integrity to take precedence over the level of BVAP once that level was past 50 percent.

MR. NAIFEH: Mr. Ang, can you please bring up Exhibit M-3? This is Document 88-3, and turn to page 7.

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Dr. Duchin -- Mr. Ang, could you zoom in on the table? 1 2 BY MR. NAIFEH: 3 Dr. Duchin, please take a look at Table 3, which is labeled, Demographics Broken Out As a Comparison of Black and 09:54:22 5 White Population. 6 Yes. 7 What does this table show? This table shows the BVAP, the WVAP, BCVAP, and WCVAP. 8 Ιn other words, the black and white shares of Voting Age Population and Citizen Voting Age Population by district in 09:54:38 10 11 each plan. 12 And in each plan, that includes in the enacted plan HB-1? 13 That's right. HB-1, as well as my plans A through D. 14 Okay. And turning down on the table labeled BVAP at the top left, what does this table show? 09:54:59 15 16 This shows that -- as I said earlier, HB-1 has one 17 majority-black district, and then drops off to around 18 30 percent while my plans A through D all have two districts 19 over 50 percent black. 09:55:17 20 And what definition of black is used to calculate these 21 percentages? 22 Yes. So here still I'm using that expansive definition 23 that's sometimes called any-part black. 24 And then looking over to the table at the top right

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labeled BCVAP, what does this table show?

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So this is the black share of Citizen Voting Age 1 2 Population. I will note that sometimes in voting rights 3 enforcement, we look to Citizens VAP, CVAP, because it's taken to be a closer proxy to the electorate because citizens are 09:56:00 5 eligible to vote. And so here I look at BCVAP and find that it -- generally similar that HB-1 still has only one 6 7 majority-black district, and all four of my plans by this way of counting still have two. And in the BCVAP table, which definition of black was used to calculate BCVAP? 09:56:29 10 11 So here I'll just say very briefly, I used the ACS to 12 calculate the citizenship share of adults for each racial group 1.3 and then applied that to the any-part black population. 14 So, again, using -- it uses any-part black to estimate the citizenship share of each district? 09:56:53 15 To be exactly precise, the share, the rate of citizenship 16 17 does not use any-part black because it's done from the ACS, 18 which doesn't have the ability to count any-part black, so that citizenship rate is used with a single-race black definition, 19 09:57:18 20 and then is applied to the any-part black map of the state. 21 Q Okay. 22 This is described in detail in the appendix to this 23 report. 24 Okay. And using the any-part black category for BVAP, are 09:57:36 25 there two districts in each of your four plans that contained

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majority-Black Voting Age Population? 2 Yes. I will just confirm by either of these ways of 3 counting there are two majority-black districts in each of my four plans. 09:57:49 5 And which districts are those? Those are consistently District 2 and District 7. 6 7 MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Mr. Ang. We can take this exhibit down. 8 BY MR. NAIFEH: Did you investigate black population in your redistricting 09:58:03 10 11 plans using any measures other than any-part black? 12 I did, particularly in response to Mr. Bryan's report. 1.3 constructed the narrowest definition of Black Voting Age 14 Population, and demonstrated that my plan A is still 09:58:31 15 majority-black, even by the narrowest construction. 16 MR. NAIFEH: Mr. Ang, can you please bring up Exhibit 17 M-7 at page 3? This is Document 88-7. 18 THE WITNESS: Thank you. 19 BY MR. NAIFEH: 09:58:45 20 And so using the narrowest definition of black, do any of your illustrative plans contain two majority-black districts? 21 22 Yes. Plan A does. As you see here, it's just over 23 50 percent, but I believe the standard to be 50 percent plus

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one person, and so by that standard, both CD 2 and CD 7 are

majority-black, even by the very narrowest possible

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construction that census data permits.

Q Thank you.

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MR. NAIFEH: And, Mr. Ang, you can take that down. BY MR. NAIFEH:

Q And other than those census categories, any-part black and single-race black, did you consider any other measures of the black population in evaluating your plans?

A I did. It was communicated to me by counsel that defense expert report suggested that it would be useful to look at voter registration data. And so I did.

A voter registration file was provided to me by counsel. I then geocoded it myself. By that, I mean used a service to obtain latitude and longitude coordinates for each of the 3.7 million people in the voter registration file. That's quite a data task.

I will briefly say, once we have those positions, we can identify the census blocks that every registered voter lives in, and with that, because the form asks people to identify their race, and it gives them only the option to do so with the single racial category, we can see what people -- what voters in Alabama, what registered voters in Alabama, when asked to choose a single racial designation, chose black.

Q Okay. And did you -- after allocating each registered voter to a congressional district in your illustrative plans, did you determine the black population, black registered voter

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population in each district?

A I did. And what I found is that if you look at all of the addresses, all of the people in the voter registration database, or if you restrict to the ones designated as active registered voters, either way, the District 2 and District 7 in my plans are actually more -- by a more substantial margin are

Q And that's in all four plans?

majority-black by this way of counting.

A All four plans.

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- 10:01:44 10 Q And that's true whether you include inactive voters or 11 active voters?
  - 12 A That's correct. It's true of the full database or the 13 subset designated as active.
    - Q And do you have an understanding of what happens if someone although they're instructed to choose only one race, chooses more than one option in the race for ethnicity category?
    - A Yes. I understand from the state's information that if despite being told to choose only one, if a voter when registering selects more than one, then they're classified as others and not as, for instance, black. And that means that the individuals that are categorized as black truly selected black and no other option.
    - Q Okay. And did you include individuals designated other when you were determining the black population according to the

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voter registration data in your congressional plans?

- A I did not. I only took the ones designated black divided by the total number of people registered in that district.
- Q And did you have the opportunity to analyze the registered voter population in the enacted plan, HB-1 plan?
- 6 A I did.

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- 7 Q And what percentage of registered voters in Congressional 8 District 7 in the enacted plan self identify as black?
- 9 A From memory, it's over 59 percent. But I suppose we could 10:03:2310 bring that up if we want to get the exact number.
  - 11 Q We will take your word for it that it's about 59 percent.
  - Okay. So now I'd like to ask you -- you have an opinion
    whether the Black Voting Age Population in Alabama is
    sufficiently numerous to constitute a majority of voters in two
    - A I do. But actually, before I get to that, let me mention one thing I skipped a moment ago. It's worth saying that HB-1 has District 7 up at over 59 percent, but still has District 2 far from a majority. So it's still the case by voter registration that HB-1 only has one majority-black district, just for the record.
  - 22 Q Okay. Let me ask the last question I asked again.

of seven congressional districts?

- 23 A Yes, please.
- 24 Q Do you have an opinion as to whether the Black Voting Age 10:04:24 25 Population in Alabama is sufficiently numerous as to constitute

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- the majority of voters in two of seven congressional districts? 2 I do. Α 3 And what is that opinion? It is. It is possible. It is sufficiently numerous. 10:04:39 5 And what is the basis of that opinion? 6 The basis is demonstrative plans that are over 50 percent 7 black in two districts. And specifically, can you describe which demonstrative 8 plans you're referring to? My demonstrative plans A through D which are over 10:04:54 10 11 50 percent black by Voting Age Population in Districts 2 and 7. 12 And using the single-race black definition, do you have an 1.3 opinion as to whether it's possible to -- whether the black 14 population in Alabama is sufficiently numerous to constitute a majority of voters in two congressional districts out of seven? 10:05:16 15 I do. This is demonstrated by my plan A, which even by 16 17 the very most restrictive definition has a majority of Black 18 Voting Age Population in Districts 2 and 7. 19 And do you have an opinion whether using voter 10:05:37 20 registration data the black population in Alabama is sufficiently numerous to constitute a majority in two of seven 21 22 congressional districts? 23 I do. And that opinion is that it is true, and it's true
  - Q Now, I'd like to turn to the traditional redistricting

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by larger margins.

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principles and the other factors you considered, and first, I 2 would like to ask you about contiguity? 3 Yes. You testified that one traditional principle is 10:06:17 5 contiguity. Can you explain what it means for a district to be contiquous? 7 Sure. In the simplest terms, a contiguous district is connected. That is, it is one connected piece. In slightly more technical terms, for a district that's made out of blocks, contiguity means that it's possible to get from anywhere in the 10:06:32 10 11 district to anywhere else in the district in a path going 12 through blocks that does not leave the district. 1.3 Okay. And do the redistricting committee's guidelines 14 discuss contiguity? They do. 10:06:52 15 Α And what do the committee guidelines say about how 16 17 contiguity is measured in Alabama? 18 They specify that contiguity through water is allowed. 19 They specify that they do not include what's called point 10:07:11 20 contiguity. And that would be where you have two blocks that meet only at a corner. So, in other words, you need adjacency 21 22 along an edge or a boundary of positive length to count as 23 connected. And they also rule out what's called long-lasso contiguity, where you essentially have a thread by which a 24 district remains contiquous. 10:07:32 25

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And do the illustrative plans that you created for this 1 2 case contain contiquous districts? 3 They do. There's a slightly more complicated story there. In my initial submission, I included plans which, as 10:07:53 5 Mr. Bryan noted in his rebuttal report, had a small number of blocks, census blocks, that were misassigned in the sense that 7 they created small islands. As he correctly noted, it was easy to infer which 8 districts those were meant to belong to. And so the consequences for population were very small. But I did submit 10:08:17 10 11 corrected plans which fixed those small block islands and 12 rebalanced the population. 1.3 So the plans now in evidence are contiguous by every 14 definition, are population balanced to the one-person standard, and have all the same properties described in the report. 10:08:42 15 And after correcting the illustrative plans for those 16 17 stray blocks identified by Mr. Bryan, are the districts in your plan all contiguous? 18 19 They are all contiguous by every definition and with every caveat identified in the guidelines. 10:09:03 20 After correcting the illustrative plans to correct those 21 22 stray census blocks, did you change any of your opinions on the questions you were asked about in this case? 23 I did not. And in particular, I will note the changes 24 10:09:23 25 were so small that not a single number in my report needed to

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be updated. So the report stands exactly as written, with respect to the corrected plans. 2 3 Okay. Just to drill down on that a little bit. Did correcting the noncontiguous blocks identified by 10:09:42 5 Mr. Bryan change the percentage of any-part Black Voting Age Population in any of the districts in your plans? 7 No, not to the number of decimal places that were included. So it may have changed the absolute numbers a tiny amount? 10:09:58 10 Certainly. 11 But not the percentages? 12 In one case, the stray blocks contained no population at 1.3 all, and in all cases, the population was under 100 people, 14 which is not enough to change any of the conclusions at any level in the reports. 10:10:15 15 And did correcting the noncontiguous blocks identified by 16 17 Mr. Bryan change the percentage of non-Hispanic single-race 18 Black Voting Age Population in Illustrative Plan A? 19 Again, to be perfectly clear, not at the level, not 10:10:42 20 to the number of decimal places reported in the report. And did correcting the noncontiguous blocks identified by 21 22 Mr. Bryan change the percentage of black registered voters in 23 any district in any of your illustrative plans? No, not to the number of decimal places included in the 24 10:11:01 25 report.

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And did you recalculate the registered voter percentage 1 2 after correcting the noncontiguous blocks? 3 I did. And was it the same? 10:11:14 5 To the level of precision included in the report, it's identical. In fact, I would add just as a matter of mathematics, one can easily confirm that with the number of people at question, it could not have changed any of those numbers to the number of decimal places included in the report. I'd like to turn to population equality. You testified 10:11:35 10 11 earlier that another redistricting principle you adhered to in 12 developing the illustrative plans was equal population? 1.3 Correct. 14 What does it mean for the population to be equal in a congressional plan? 10:11:54 15 A majority of U.S. states, but not all 50, balance their 16 17 congressional plans to one person top to bottom deviation, with 18 respect to total population from the decennial census. And my 19 initial set of plans, every plan was within one person of ideal -- of rounded ideal size. And that's also true in the 10:12:21 20 21 corrected plans where there's one person top to bottom 22 deviation in all four. 23 Okay. And so Mr. Bryan says that after reassigning stray 24 blocks there was a greater deviation. Did you correct for that 10:12:41 25 deviation after -- when correcting for your -- correcting your

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plans for those stray blocks?

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A I did. So the corrections reassigned the blocks and then rebalanced the population, as I said.

Q Okay. And so do you have an opinion about whether plaintiffs' illustrative plans adhere to the equal population principle?

A They do, even by the strictest possible -- mathematically possible population equality.

Q Okay. So you testified earlier that you took into account geographical compactness when you developed your illustrative plans. How do you pleasure compactness?

A Yes. Well, this is one of the areas of my specialization. So there are vast number of metrics in the literature. I've counted more than 35 in the political science and geography, scholarly literature, for measuring compactness.

But by far, the most common in redistricting is the use of what's called the Polsby-Popper score. And particularly, the average Polsby-Popper score over the districts in a plan.

That's one of three compactness metrics that I selected to highlight in my reports.

O And what were the other two?

A The next most common in redistricting is a metric called Reock. It's R-E-O-C-K. And it's a metric that asks how different the shape is from the smallest circle that can contain it. So like Polsby-Popper, which compares area to

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perimeter, both Reock and Polsby-Popper depend on the contour or the outline of the district. So I sometimes refer to them as contour-based metrics. So a second metric would be to take the average Reock score over the districts in a plan.

I also chose to highlight a third metric, which I think is becoming more popular in redistricting. And that is a discrete metric called cut edges. In this case, block cut edges. It looks as how the units, the blocks are separated from one another in the plan.

Q Okay. And is any single -- any one of those quantitative measures of compactness dispositive as to whether a given district or a plan is -- can be called compact?

A No. And I would note the interesting thing for someone like me who studies geometry, the interesting thing is that these metrics really do measure different things so that for any 2 of the 35 metrics, it's fairly easy to come up with a plan, an example, the shape that looks compact by one of the metrics, not so compact by the other.

And so they really do measure somewhat different things. And there's a choice of emphasis when you're talking about compactness.

For the purposes of this case, I focused on that average Polsby-Popper score that I mentioned before because it is, by far, the most common in redistricting.

Q And why did you in this case focus on the Polsby-Popper

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2 A So as I just mentioned, it's the most common. And so that

3 was the choice of focus. But I can also mention what

Polsby-Popper focuses on is how erratic the boundaries are of a

district. And so it does have a relationship to how the

 $6 \parallel$  districts look to the eye.

Q And did you calculate compactness measures for each

8 district or for the whole plan?

A I did both. In the report, I give the average scores, but

10:17:02 10 my back-up materials contain scores for every district in the

11 plan.

12 Q And why did you calculate average scores for the whole

13 plan, or why did you choose to report those in your report?

14 A Well, it's a standard way to make one plan comparable with

10:17:21 15 | another. If you report the set of -- in this case, seven

16 numbers, some will be higher, some will be lower. And so a

17 standard way to make them comparable, which is reasonable for

18 my point of view, is to average the numbers.

Q Okay. And so in this case, did you calculate an average

compact Polsby-Popper score for each illustrative that you

21 created?

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22 A I did. I computed the scores for plans A through D and

23 for HB-1.

Q And did you have occasion to compare the Polsby-Popper

10:18:03 25 | scores for your illustrative plans to the HB-1 plan?

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I did. All four of my plans are significantly more 1 2 compact than the state's enacted plan by this common metric, 3 the average Polsby-Popper score. And perhaps it's worth mentioning also significantly more compact than the enacted 10:18:25 5 plan from ten years ago. And did you have also have occasion to compare the 6 district level Polsby-Popper scores in the illustrative plans to the HB-1 plan? I did. In my plans, it is consistently the case that Congressional Districts 1 and 2 are the least compact. 10:18:45 10 11 because they're elongated in an east to west fashion. 12 Giving them scores of roughly, if memory serves -- we can 1.3 pull up the numbers, but if memory serves, roughly .15. I will 14 note that those scores, which are my least compact districts, are comparable to and in some cases better than the least 10:19:09 15 16 compact district in the current enacted plan and the enacted 17 plan from ten years ago. 18 Okay. And is there a particular reason why Congressional 19 Districts 1 and 2 have lower compactness scores in your plans? 10:19:28 20 There is. As I'm sure we'll discuss, District 2 is elongated in east to west fashion in order to contain as much 21 22 as possible of the Black Belt. That Black Belt of 18 counties, 23 it was an express goal of mine to keep that as much as possible

By doing that, because of the way the population is

within majority-black districts.

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distributed in the state, it creates District 1 to the south, which is also very elongated east to west.

So the goal of securing representation in a majority-black district for the Black Belt is what creates those relatively low, but clearly still acceptable compactness scores in Districts 1 and 2 in my plans.

Q Okay. And although they're lower than other districts in your plan, in your opinion, are Congressional District 1 and Congressional District 2 reasonably compact in all of your illustrative plans?

A Yes. I think they are. And I'll just repeat they're comparable to or better than the least compact districts in the state's enacted plan that was voted through recently, as well as the state's enacted plan from ten years ago.

Q And turning now to communities of interest, you testified earlier that another redistricting principle you bore in mind when drawing your illustrative plans was communities of interest?

A Yes.

Q How do you define a community of interest?

A Well, in this case, the Alabama guidelines have language concerning communities of interest that I found to be apt and to be continent with definitions in other states.

If I recall correctly, the shared interests that constitute a community per the guidelines include common

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economics, common racial and ethnic characteristics, common history, common culture and so on. These are some of the -- and if we want to -- that's a paraphrase, but I would be happy to take a look if we wanted to pull that out in order to be more precise.

Q And in this case, what information did you consider when trying to preserve communities of interest?

A I will note that in some states the state or a state-affiliated office undertook a community of interest collection process from the public in which members of the public, including legislators were invited to identify

I'm not aware of any such effort in Alabama. And I did check the state's redistricting website to see if any such thing had been undertaken.

communities through mapping software.

Not finding a collection process like that, it's hard to develop a metric around public testimony. And so I relied on two examples, two kinds of communities of interest that I have already alluded to. And one is the cores of cities in Alabama, which I believe clearly meet the definition of a community of interest provided in the guidelines. And the second is the Black Belt across the state, which I also believe clearly to meet the definition provided in the guidelines.

Q Okay.

MR. NAIFEH: And, Mr. Ang, can you pull up exhibit

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M-28? This is again the redistricting guidelines 2 Document 88-23. 3 Mr. Ang, can you scroll down? I believe it's the third page. Back up one. 10:24:00 5 THE WITNESS: There we are. BY MR. NAIFEH: 6 7 It's at the bottom of page 2. Is that the definition that you were referring to earlier? Yes. And so recognized similarities of interests, including but not limited to ethnic, racial, economic, tribal, 10:24:11 10 11 social, geographic, or historical identities. 12 Exactly. And it says there at the bottom that it can include? 1.3 14 It can include in certain circumstances political subdivisions, such as counties. 10:24:29 15 16 MR. NAIFEH: And can you go on to the next page, 17 Mr. Ang? 18 THE WITNESS: Great. Counties voting precincts, 19 municipalities, tribal lands and reservations, or school 10:24:44 20 districts. 21 MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Mr. Ang. 22 BY MR. NAIFEH: 23 And does -- in your understanding, does the community of interest principle mean that an entire congressional district 24 10:24:59 25 must form a single community of interest?

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No. And I think that's sometimes a common 1 2 misunderstanding. I don't think that respect for communities 3 of interest means that every district should itself be a single unitary community. That wouldn't work because communities can 10:25:20 5 be of all sizes and are not necessarily the exact size of congressional districts, which after all, are very large, over 7 700,000 people. Instead, I believe that what it means is that communities 8 should be taken into account when you draw so that either they're kept whole within a district, or if it's appropriate, 10:25:39 10 11 split among several in a way that amplifies their opportunity to be heard by their representative. 12 13 So, in other words, there may be more than one community 14 of interest in a given congressional district? There certainly will, without fail, be more than one 10:25:59 15 community of interest within a congressional district. 16 17 And are the criteria for or the definition of community of 18 interest, is that an objective definition? 19 Well, as it's written in law or in quidelines like these, 10:26:21 20 it's, of course, somewhat vague. There have been efforts to try to make it more concrete and more quantifiable, that 21 22 usually start with a public collection process, as I mentioned 23 a little earlier. So when you are serving the public about their communities 24 10:26:43 25 of interest, is it possible that different people might

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identify with different communities of interest? 2 It is a certainty. When you ask people about their 3 communities, the nature of community is that you will get many different kinds of account. Some of them will be continent and 10:26:58 5 will allow you to create a kind of small consensus so that you have a community supported by the testimony of many people. 7 But inevitably, on even more than what some of the other principles, there are trade offs, because communities can and will overlap. So sometimes it's impossible to preserve one without breaking another. So even within this principle, there 10:27:23 10 11 are trade offs to consider. 12 When developing your illustrative plans in this case, what 1.3 communities of interest did you consider? 14 So the two communities of interest that I prioritized are the two that I mentioned earlier, which are urban cores and the 10:27:40 15 18 counties that constitute the rural Black Belt. 16 17 I will mention that I am aware that there are many, many 18 other important and salient communities in Alabama, and I 19 prioritized these two that I believe to clearly and 10:28:05 20 unambiguously correspond to the language in the guidelines. And in your opinion, do the illustrative plans respect 21 22 communities of interest? 23 Yes. My plans A through D are designed to do so. And one way that they do so is by taking upwards of 16 out of the 18 24 10:28:29 25 Black Belt counties in each case and keeping those in

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majority-black districts.

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Q And you mentioned also that municipalities or counties or other political subdivisions can also constitute a community of interest. Did -- in your opinion, do the illustrative plans respect those communities of interest?

A They do. There's a marked respect not only for counties, which I think is unmistakable in the plans, but also for municipalities.

And I will note there that because the technical boundaries of municipalities can be very erratic, that on a community level, it's often that urban core that's most salient from a community.

Q You also testified the guidelines -- the redistricting committee's guidelines include as an additional criteria the cores of prior districts?

A Yes.

Q What does preserving the cores of prior districts mean?

A Informally, it means that new districts should resemble

the previous districts. Often, that's measured in one of two

ways; by looking at the area overlap or the territorial overlap between a new district and its corresponding its counterpart in

22 the older plan, or by looking at the population that's either

23 retained or displaced.

Q And do the illustrative plans preserve the cores of prior districts?

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I would characterize my Illustrative Plans A through 1 2 D as not particularly preserving the cores of the prior 3 districts. And why is that? 10:30:30 5 I judge it to be impossible to have as high of a core preservation as, for instance, you see in the newly enacted 6 plans, while also having two majority-black districts. Just to expand on that briefly, since the older plan has one majority-black district, and then a significant drop off to, you know, about 30 percent, it's again mathematically 10:30:54 10 11 impossible to create two majority-black districts without a 12 significant level of population reassignment from one District 1.3 to another. Because I regard the protection of minority 14 electoral opportunity to be a nonnegotiable federal requirement, that necessitates a significant level of core 10:31:19 15 16 displacement. 17 Okay. And so that -- and then in the outside of those two 18 majority-black districts, were there -- can you explain why 19 your plans don't preserve cores to the extent it's of the 10:31:39 20 enacted plan? Yes. Absolutely. 21 22 So I read the guidelines to put core displacement as a 23 priority below compactness and the preservation of counties, in particular compactness. And so I would note that one could 24 10:32:01 25 take my illustrative plans, retain something very much like my

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Districts 2 and 7 and therefore District 1, and with the remaining four districts, one could adopt a different prioritization. And indeed if core preservation were elevated at that point, it would be quite easy to reconfigure those four districts to more resemble the previous enacted plan. I will just note that you would be doing so expressly at the cost of compactness. So, in other words, you read the guidelines as requiring compact districts more than core preservation, but if you read them the other way, you could preserve cores to a greater 10:32:44 10 11 extent than you did? I think it's difficult to read them another way, but if 1.3 you elected to prioritize cores over compactness, you certainly 14 could do so, and that would greatly improve those displacement numbers in my plan while maintaining two majority-black 10:33:02 15 16 districts. And you also testified earlier that protecting minority 17 18 voting strength is a traditional redistricting criteria. What 19 does it mean to protect minority voting strength for avoid dilution of minority voting strength? 10:33:28 20 Well, in the context of *Gingles I* demonstration, it means 22 to draw districts that have a majority of -- in this case, 23 Black Voting Age Population while still being maximally respectful to the other traditional principles. In other 24

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words, in other words, what's at issue here is the opportunity

to elect candidates of choice.

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Q And what do the illustrative plans do to unable that opportunity?

A Well, in particular, here they pass the threshold of 50 percent plus 1, so they create two majority-black districts in which I believe together with the evidence of other experts we can see there will be a clear opportunity to elect candidates of choice.

Q And so based on what you have told us so far today, did you form an opinion as to whether the black population in Alabama is sufficiently numerous and geographically compact to comprise a majority of voting age population in two congressional districts?

A I did. As we heard, there were two majority-black districts, and the plan as a whole is highly respectful of other traditional districting principles, and in particular, is highly compact. The compactness of the plan is itself a demonstration that the population is compact enough to do so.

Q And are the illustrative plans the only potential remedy for vote dilution in Alabama's congressional plan?

A They are far from the only possible remedy, and I leave it to the Court to determine whether majority-black districts are necessary as a remedy. And here, they're clearly demonstrated to meet the *Gingles I* requirement.

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MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Dr. Duchin. I have no more 1 2 questions at this time. 3 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. It looks to me like this might be a convenient time for our break. I have 10:35 your time in Alabama Central Standard and 11:35 in Eastern Standard 10:35:42 5 Time. We'll take a 15-minute break. 7 I take it, Mr. LaCour, you are going to conduct the bulk of the cross, or the cross for the Secretary of State? MR. LACOUR: That's correct, Your Honor. 9 10:36:03 10 MR. NAIFEH: Your Honor, actually, there was one more 11 issue I wanted to raise with Dr. Duchin. 12 JUDGE MARCUS: Sure. Let's go back so you can finish 1.3 your direct, and then we'll break. Fire away. 14 MR. NAIFEH: Mr. Ang, can you please bring up Exhibit 48, M-48, that's Document 92-1? And I will note for 10:36:21 15 the Court and for the record that this is one of the exhibits 16 17 that defendants have objected to, and I would like to lay the 18 foundation for getting it admitted. 19 JUDGE MARCUS: Sure. 10:36:49 20 BY MR. NAIFEH: 21 Dr. Duchin, on the screen is the document that has been 22 marked as exhibit M-48. 23 MR. NAIFEH: Mr. Ang, could you scroll through? I 24 think it's three pages. 10:37:0625 BY MR. NAIFEH:

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1	Q Dr. Duchin, do you recognize this document?
2	A I do.
3	Q And can you tell me what it is?
4	A This is a supplemental report that I filed whose focus is
10:37:18 5	the voter registration numbers that I described earlier.
6	Q And is this a complete copy of that report that you
7	executed on December 27th?
8	A Yes. It's quite a short report.
9	Q Okay. And it contains the information you have already
10:37:36 10	testified to concerning your analysis of voter data. Is that
11	what you stated a moment ago?
12	A Yes. With a bit more precision about the process, it
13	contains exactly the same information.
14	Q Okay.
10:37:52 15	MR. NAIFEH: I would like to move Milligan Plaintiffs'
16	M-48 into evidence.
17	JUDGE MARCUS: Let me hear from the state.
18	Mr. LaCour, I take it there was an objection on timeliness
19	ground?
10:38:03 20	MR. LACOUR: There was, Your Honor.
21	JUDGE MARCUS: Then the judges will be able to confer
22	amongst themselves and give you a ruling. I take it you would
23	want a ruling on this before you commence your cross?
24	MR. LACOUR: That would be that would be helpful,
10:38:21 25	Your Honor.

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JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. Let's go right to the argument. 1 2 Tell me about timeliness. They admit it's slightly off 3 the time base. You tell me why we should hold them to that in the context of the exigencies of the time boundaries we have 10:38:45 5 all been operating under. MR. LACOUR: I think for that same reason, Your Honor, 6 it's we are also trying to prepare for -- we were also trying 7 to prepare for the hearing and trying to prepare witnesses, trying to get ready for numerous cross-examinations, and we had two reports from Dr. Duchin already, received a third report. 10:39:04 10 11 There's not a whole lot of time to really dig in. So I mean 12 our objection is strictly on the timeliness grounds. 1.3 that's essentially our argument. 14 JUDGE MARCUS: Let me ask you just a question or two about that. 10:39:21 15 This report was prepared and received on the 27th of 16 17 December. That was about ten days ago. I take it, it has been 18 given to and reviewed by Mr. Bryan, your expert. 19 MR. LACOUR: I -- I have not been working as closely 10:39:46 20 with Mr. Bryan, so if someone else is out there in the Zoom world who could chime in, I'd welcome --21 22 JUDGE MARCUS: I wanted to make sure there has been --23 bear with me. I wanted to make sure that Mr. Bryan had the opportunity to review the supplemental report of Dr. Duchin, 24 which was dated 27 December. 10:40:08 25

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MR. LACOUR: I have no reason to think he has not had that opportunity. But, Jim, if you are on, you might be able to provide a definitive answer. MR. DAVIS: Your Honor, if I may step in a moment. JUDGE MARCUS: You sure can. MR. DAVIS: I can respond to your question. Mr. Bryan has not reviewed this supplemental report, but we do not deny that we had the opportunity to provide it to him. This report was just not focused in on the areas that Mr. Bryan discusses and that he will discuss in his testimony. So he has not reviewed it, but we do not dispute that we have had since the 12 27th to provide it to him, had we felt the need to do so. JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. Thank you much. Anything

further on this issue from, Mr. Naifeh, from you or from Mr. LaCour, Mr. Davis? If not, we will take it under at advisement and give you a ruling shortly.

MR. NAIFEH: This is Stuart Naifeh for the plaintiffs. I just want to note that there was no objection to Dr. Duchin testifying about the same information that is contained in this report. So that, you know, if there had been a concern that they had not had -- if that information was outside the scope or anything like that of her initial reports, that objection has now been waived.

> JUDGE MARCUS: Anything further, Mr. LaCour? MR. LACOUR: Nothing further at this time, Your Honor.

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JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. It is now by my count 11:41. 1 2 will -- 10:41 your time, 11:41 my time. We will reconvene at 3 12:00 o'clock Eastern Standard, 11:00 o'clock Central Standard Time. We will be in recess until about 11:00 or 12:00 o'clock 10:42:09 5 respectively. Thank you. 6 (Recess.) 7 JUDGE MARCUS: Do we have everybody assembled? We have counsel for the state, Mr. LaCour? MR. LACOUR: Yes, Your Honor. 9 JUDGE MARCUS: And we have counsel for the Milligan 11:00:53 10 11 plaintiffs, who is conducting the examination of Dr. Duchin, 12 correct? 1.3 MR. NAIFEH: Yes, Your Honor. 14 JUDGE MARCUS: So are we ready to proceed, folks? 11:01:04 15 just wanted to make sure. MR. NAIFEH: Milligan plaintiffs are ready to proceed. 16 17 JUDGE MARCUS: Mr. LaCour, are you ready to proceed? 18 MR. LACOUR: Yes, Your Honor. 19 JUDGE MARCUS: Before we start the cross-examination, 11:01:17 20 we note the objection to M-48, which was the supplemental expert report of Dr. Duchin filled on the 27th of December. 21 22 The objection that was interposed was on the grounds of it 23 being untimely by some seven days. The objection is overruled. We will permit and receive 24 M-48, the supplemental report of Duchin into the record. A 11:01:45 25

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series of reasons lead us to that conclusion. I have counseled with my colleagues about the matter. And we believe that, one, there was more than sufficient time over the last 10 or 11 days to make what use of it that you might. And it was your call, Mr. LaCour, whether to show it or not to Dr. Bryan.

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Two, under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure Rule 6(b)(1)(B), the Court has the power to extend a time for a sufficient reason. We're satisfied, given the exigencies of the time and the compressed nature of the discovery that there's ample reason to excuse the failure to timely file the report of Dr. Duchin.

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Third, it's worth observing that, in effect, she had already testified about the substance of the supplemental report on direct examination without any objection. So the substance of it has already been come in. Theoretically, we could strike that for the record. But for the reasons that I've stated, we're not prepared to do that.

11:03:11 15

The objection is overruled. M-48 is received. And with that, you may proceed with your cross. Thank you, Mr. LaCour.

11:03:32 20

MR. LACOUR: Thank you, Your Honors.

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CROSS-EXAMINATION

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BY MR. LACOUR:

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11:03:45 25

Q Dr. Duchin, thank you for being with us. May name is Edmund LaCour. I represent defendant Secretary of State of Alabama John Merrill.

Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

A Hello.

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Q I would like to start with a couple of statements from pages 7 and 9 of the reports. It's pretty brief, so I don't pull it up on the screen unless you would like me to.

You note that Black Voting Age Population in Alabama is about 26 percent. Black Alabamians make up a majority in only 14.3 percent of congressional districts in the state. And that White Voting Age Population is about 65.5 percent, meaning that, quote, proportional representation for white voters would be between 4.4 and 4.6 of Alabama's seven seats in the U.S.

11 | house, correct?

12 A Correct.

Q So you are stating the enacted map does not result in proportional representation for white and black Alabamians?

A Well, to be careful, that depends on, of course, how people vote. But it's certainly the case that majority-white districts are present in the enacted plan super proportionally with respect to population.

Q So if more white Alabamians voted differently, would blacks be proportionally represented in Alabama?

A Certainly. As I just said, everything depends on how people vote. I'm sorry. Am I understanding the question correctly?

Q I was just trying to figure out what -- through the import was of your observation that while black Alabamians make up

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26 percent of the state, white Alabamians, 65.5, white Alabamians hold 4.4 to 4.6 congressional -- you would expect --2 3 it seems like you're suggesting you would expect 4.4 to 4.6 of congressional seats to be majority white districts and 11:05:52 5 something higher than 14.3 percent of districts to be majority black. So to clarify, no, that's not what that meant? 7 It's mentioned with respect to the traditional understanding that in applying voting rights, one doesn't seek to go past the level of proportionality. Not that it's an expectation, but that it has sometimes functioned de facto as a 11:06:19 10 11 ceiling in voting rights law. 12 And if one of your illustrative plans or another plan that 1.3 created two majority-black districts was either enacted by the 14 Legislature imposed by a court, black Alabamians would then be a majority in what, 28.6 percent of congressional districts? 11:06:40 15 16 That sounds about right. Two out of seven should be about 17 that. 18 Okay. Which would be greater than proportional 19 representation? 11:06:57 20 I believe so we just said the population proportion is about 26 to 27 percent black. I believe that projects out to 21 22 1.8, 1.9 seats, something like that. And so two would be the 23 closest. Since we can't have fractional seats in the end, two would be the closest to that number. 24 11:07:18 25 Q Right. And I mean, wouldn't you agree that generally in

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congressional districting in the United States, even with very 2 neutral redistricting processes observed, seldom produce 3 proportional results? To clarify, that results are not typically proportional. 11:07:38 5 That's the question? 6 Correct. 7 I agree that I've looked at all states with significant populations of minority groups and that often the representation it's close, but falls short of proportionality. That's correct. 11:07:58 10 11 Even with a neutral redistricting process, correct? It's hard to speak to the details of the processes in all 12 1.3 the states. 14 In 2019, you published a study on congressional districts in Massachusetts, didn't you? 11:08:13 15 16 I did. In the Election Law Journal. 17 Yeah. It was fairly interesting. 18 Thank you. 19 Is it fair to say that you found that even though 11:08:23 20 Massachusetts Republican candidates often received between 30 and 40 percent of the two-way vote share in statewide elections 21 22 in Massachusetts, you wouldn't expect to see a map 30 percent 23 of the Commonwealth's nine congressional seats for the GOP? 24 Actually, it's even stronger than that, the finding. Can 11:08:44 25 I briefly describe it?

Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

Q That would be great.

A Thanks.

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The finding is that over a ten-year span, about a third of Massachusetts voters select a Republican in statewide contests. But it's not only unlikely, it is on the nose mathematically impossible to draw a congressional district in Massachusetts that would have Republican majority. And so the finding is one of impossibility, which is expressly not the case in Alabama, as we saw in my testimony.

Q And we will get to it in just a moment. I think I found it interesting you said -- does this sound like an accurate quote? There are more ways of developing a valid districting than there are particles in the galaxy. Every single one of them would produce a 9-0 Democratic delegation?

A It's surprising, but true that it's literally impossible to draw a Republican district in those conditions merely as a matter of the political geography of where people live.

Q Right. Because -- that is also because of certainly traditional districting criteria that are observed in the Commonwealth, correct?

A You would actually surprised how strong the result is.

Even if you let go of contiguity, you still can't draw such a district. It's quite a strong finding.

Q Uh-huh. And that's in part because you don't have many parts of Massachusetts that are majority Republican, right?

## Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

Exactly. As we describe it in the paper, it's that 1 2 Republicans while plentiful in Massachusetts are really spread 3 evenly throughout the state. That's exactly right. Uh-huh. They're well integrated with their Democratic 11:10:30 5 brothers and sisters? I would call it uniform. And as I have said in the past, 6 7 it seems like Republican voters are a third of the state, a third of every town, and maybe a third of every household. Got it. So return to Alabama. If all we knew, and just speaking 11:10:44 10 11 hypothetically here, if all we knew was that black Alabamians 12 made up 26 percent of the state, and that they formed 1.3 majorities in only 14.3 percent of the congressional districts, 14 that wouldn't tell us very much about the fairness of the representation in the map, would it? 11:11:05 15 Absolutely. That's -- that's precisely -- I agree with 16 17 you. That's what's shown in that Massachusetts paper is that 18 you have to look at what's possible. Right. And again, going off this sort of blank 19 11:11:23 20 hypothetical slate, would it be kind of surprising if the minority group, political or racial, made up a greater than 21 22 proportional -- made up a majority in a higher percentage of 23 districts than they are composed within the state? Sure. That happens all the time. If I understood -- let 24 11:11:48 25 me make sure I understood you.

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I guess I'm trying to say, would it surprise you to -- if 1 let's say in Massachusetts, well hypothetical state of Columbia. You have got 30 percent of people in the green 3 party. Would -- and 70 percent of people are Libertarians. 11:12:09 5 Would it be surprising for a congressional district to produce majority green party districts in 35 percent of the districts 7 allotted to that hypothetical state? So the population share went to 35 percent, my 8 understanding? The population share is 30, and they end up with 11:12:29 10 11 majorities in 35 percent of the districts. 12 It's hard to know whether to characterize that as 13 surprising, because I'd need to know a lot more about the 14 situation. But what I take to be the point is that it can often happen that the representation share is different from 11:12:47 15 the population share. That's certainly true. 16 17 Does it often skew a little in favor of the majority and a 18 little against the minority? 19 That is frequently observed, although, I've just come back 11:13:05 20 from testifying in North Carolina, as I mentioned earlier, 21 where there are maps in play that -- that actually tend to give 22 majority representation to a minority of the votes. That can 23 also happen. 24 That evidence, in your mind, that they're not following

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11:13:23 25

neutral something criteria?

- 1 A It really need to be assessed on a case-by-case basis.
- 2 Q In North Carolina, where you testified, did you take that
- 3 as evidence that neutral districting criteria were not being
- 4 followed?
- 11:13:36 5 A There's so much other evidence in play there, that I
  - 6 wouldn't want to attribute it to a single piece of evidence.
  - $7 \parallel Q$  But did that support the theory that something was afoot,
  - 8 | either racial or political? I'm not sure what the theory of
  - 9 the case is.
- 11:13:56 10 A Right. I think I can say that it supported a conclusion
  - 11 of a partisan intent on my part.
  - 12 Q Okay. Do you know how many counties are in Alabama
  - 13 | altogether?
  - 14 A I don't have the number in front of me.
- 11:14:14 15 Q Would 67 sound right?
  - 16 A That sounds about right, yes.
  - 17 | Q And do you know how many of them are majority-black?
  - 18 A Not off the top of my head.
  - 19 Q If I told you it was around 11, would that sound -- that
- 11:14:31 20 sound right?
  - 21 A I can work off of that assumption in the following
  - 22 questions.
  - 23 Q I want to pull up a map real quick that I think is --
  - 24 might be helpful.
- 11:14:44 25 A Thank you.

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- 1 Q All right. So can you see this map now, Dr. Duchin?
- 2 A I can. Yes.
- 3 Q I will represent to you this is Defendants Exhibit -- I
- 4 | believe this is Defendants' Exhibit 2, page 38. Mr. Bryan
- 11:15:19 5 prepared this. And he purports to show the counties in
  - 6 Alabama, and then marks them for black alone Voting Age
  - 7 | Population by county. Do you see that?
  - 8 A I do.
  - 9 Q And so does my cursor show up on your screen?
- 11:15:40 10 A I see it.
  - 11 Q The little hand?
  - 12 A Yes.
  - 13 Q So we have got the Black Belt counties kind of running
  - 14 sort of in this -- I think this is Pickens County here and
- 11:15:47 15 running down this direction. And many of them are
  - 16 majority-black voting age. But some of them just barely. And
  - 17 some of them below majority. Is that fair?
  - 18 A I accept that representation.
  - 19 Q Okay. All right. Back out of that. And I think you
- 11:16:13 20 reported that the Black Belt as a whole has only about 300,000
  - 21 black residents. Does that sound right?
  - 22 A We'd have to look at the numbers, but I remember it to be
  - 23 over 300,000.
  - 24 | Q Okay. If your report said -- make sure I'm quoting the
- 11:16:35 25 chapter and verse. Happy to pull this up.

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You said -- this is page 10 of your report Milligan 1 2 Exhibit 3. The Black Belt region has over 300,000 black 3 residents? Correct. 11:16:50 5 All right. So something else I wanted to touch on from page 2 of your report. You said that because Alabama's any-part black population is 27.16 percent, the total population group is, quote, large enough to constitute majorities of three out of seven congressional districts because it takes about 7.2 percent of the population, to 11:17:15 10 11 constitute the majority in a district. Is that correct? 12 Yes. 13 Okay. Geographic constraints explain why you cannot draw 14 a map with three majority-black congressional districts, correct? 11:17:34 15 16 Where you cannot, is that what you said? 17 Correct. Yeah. Why you could not? 18 Agreed. It's the exact same principle that we just 19 discussed in Massachusetts. The numbers alone don't tell you. 11:17:45 20 You have to look at what's possible. Uh-huh. So you didn't have any maps that tried to unite 21 22 black voters in Huntsville with black voters in Birmingham and 23 Dothan, correct?

Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

I'm sorry. Are you asking if I attempted precisely to

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follow those goals?

11:18:02 25

1	Q You didn't present did you try to draw any maps that
2	looked like that, that united black voters from the northern
3	most of the state to the southernmost part of the state?
4	A Well, that was certainly never an express goal to unite
11:18:20 5	voters from the very north and voters from the very south.
6	Q So question: Do you know if any of the plans your
7	algorithm generated produced maps that look like that?
8	A But, again, I think you mean that contain districts
9	spanning all the way from north to south; is that right?
11:18:44 10	Q That united black voters in Huntsville?
11	A Right.
12	Q You focused on in your report and Mobile?
13	A I certainly never saw a district connecting Huntsville to
14	Mobile.
11:18:54 15	Q Okay. And why was that?
16	A Well, it's hard to say why to an empirical question. I
17	never saw such a district.
18	Q Okay. And returning to your math about 7.2 percent of the
19	state's population being all that's needed to draw a majority
11:19:16 20	district, by that math, and this is lawyer math, would it take
21	only about 50.4 percent of voters statewide to form a majority
22	in each of the seven congressional districts?
23	A Right. So since we've been discussing this Massachusetts
24	paper, this is what we call an arithmetic or numerical test.
11:19:41 25	It's just are the numbers sufficient. So that's all that it

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looks at is numbers alone, and the point of discussing that is 2 to say that that's not sufficient for redistricting. You need 3 to not only look at the numbers, but also look at the geography. 11:19:57 5 Right. But mathematically, if we were to discard traditional redistricting criteria, it would be possible to 6 7 draw -- there are a majority of whatever group if that group made up 50.4 percent of voters statewide? Α Yes. I'm sorry. I didn't mean to talk over you at all. 11:20:19 10 Oh, not at all. 11 That's right. If you have a bare majority statewide, it 12 is theoretically possible to recapitulate that majority in each 1.3 district. Each district could be a microcosm of the state. That is theoretically possible, although difficult to achieve 14 in practice. 11:20:37 15 16 But that did happen in Massachusetts in a sense? 17 Well. Α 18 They have a larger than 50 percent majority? I apologize. 19 JUDGE MARCUS: Let's just take our time. Let 11:20:57 20 Mr. LaCour finish his question, Dr. Duchin, before you give him 21 an answer. And, Mr. LaCour, let Dr. Duchin answer completely 22 before you proceed with the question. 23 Thank you. Let's take the next question. BY MR. LACOUR: 24 11:21:14 25 Q Dr. Duchin, would it sound about right if I told you that

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- Republican presidential candidates in Alabama have obtained over 60 percent of the vote in the last three general statewide elections?

  A Yes. I know that to be true.

  Q Okay. So a map in which Republicans make up a majority in
- Okay. So a map in which Republicans make up a majority in all seven districts are mathematically possible in Alabama?

  That does not follow. Because now you said a map that
  - A That does not follow. Because now you said a map that does. So you've brought geography into the question.
    - Q So traditional districting principles might inhibit that result, but mathematically it could potentially be possible?
  - A I'm just going to keep distinguishing so that I can be careful. Numerically, it would be possible.
  - Q Okay. And a guideline for redistricting like core retention of districts might help explain why the 2021 map includes only six majority Republican districts instead of seven, even though it was enacted by a majority Republican House and majority Republican state Senate?
  - A Certainly. If core retention is prioritized over minority electoral opportunity, that would be an explanation.
- 21 interest, correct?
  - 22 A I don't believe I've been discussing partisan interest at 23 all, and it wasn't part of my analysis.
    - Q Okay. Fair enough.

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On the second page of your report, again, this is Milligan

## Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

Exhibit 3, you state -- you were asked to draw plans that 2 establish that it's possible to create two majority-black 3 districts in a map that maintains population balance, reasonable compactness, respect for local boundaries -- I will 11:23:17 5 start over. I apologize for -- let me start over. 6 So on page 2, you state, I was asked --7 JUDGE MARCUS: Just so that I am clear, you are referring to page 2 of what? Of the Exhibit M-3? 8 9 MR. LACOUR: Yes, Your Honor. JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you. 11:23:38 10 11 BY MR. LACOUR: 12 You state, I was asked to draw plans, establish that it is 1.3 possible to create two majority-black districts in a map that 14 maintains population balance, reasonable compactness, respect for boundaries, and other traditional redistricting principles. 11:23:55 15 16 In particular, I was instructed to emphasize Polsby-Popper 17 inspirometric definition of compactness. What do you mean by 18 emphasize the Polsby-Popper definition of compactness? 19 Sure. I mean that in two ways. One, that compactness is 11:24:21 20 important, that I took it to be a very highly ranked priority. 21 And, two, that within the ways of measuring compactness, I 22 selected that metric for emphasis. Does that make sense? 23 Yes. Let's see. 24 So did you give compactness more weight than some of the other traditional districting principles? 11:24:49 25

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1	A I did. I would clarify or expand that I took population
2	balance and minority electoral opportunity to be nonnegotiable
3	requirements, and after that, took contiguity and compactness
4	to be highest ranked following the Alabama guidelines.
11:25:15 5	Q Okay. I'd like to touch on that. I mean, you also stated
6	on page 2 I will go ahead and pull this up.
7	I may have too many windows. I apologize.
8	JUDGE MARCUS: Take your time.
9	BY MR. LACOUR:
11:25:52 10	Q All right. Are we looking at this is Milligan
11	Exhibit 3. I am going back to page 2. So this final
12	paragraph.
13	JUDGE MARCUS: Just so we're clear for the record,
14	this is Dr. Duchin's one of her reports, right?
11:26:21 15	MR. LACOUR: Right.
16	BY MR. LACOUR:
17	Q This is your initial report, Dr. Duchin, Milligan
18	Exhibit 3. You said, These two majority districts can be drawn
19	without sacrificing traditional districting principles like
11:26:31 20	population balance, contiguity, respect for political
21	subdivisions like counties, cities and towns, or the
22	compactness of districts, and with heightened respect for
23	communities of interest.
24	Now, you don't reference what I think you refer to as one
11:26:44 25	of your six districting criteria, correct.

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A Let's see. One, two, three, four, five and so, of course, this doesn't include what was in bold in the previous sentence, which is minority electoral opportunity.

Q Correct. So I didn't -- when I had read this initially, I did not read that as one of the goals that was necessarily informing the drawing of the maps, but so -- but you did state before that was one of your nonnegotiable criteria, correct?

A Correct. I would call it the principle goal, and as you heard, the principle assignment in this case was precisely that question.

Q So that -- how did that work with the other five criteria?

A Great. So the question is one of possibility as I have highlighted repeatedly. And so though you have trade offs among the principles, the goal was to create two majority-black congressional districts while balancing the other principles as well as possible. Is that responsive?

Q It's helpful. I think so.

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So you talked before about keeping counties whole versus strict compliance of one person one vote. And it's almost impossible -- likely impossible in most plans to do both, correct?

A Correct. Fundamental trade offs exist.

Q So when you decided to strictly add here to one person one vote, that criteria took precedence over keeping counties whole?

## Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

- 1 A That's right. Counties are split in order to comply with 2 one person one vote.
  - Q Okay. Why did you decide to comply so strictly with one person one vote?

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- The practice as I mentioned earlier in a majority of U.S.

  States is to attain de minimus population deviation. And
  that's regarded as dominant practice in the field. And so I
  undertook to achieve that level of balance.
  - Q If Alabama's guidelines had provided greater deviation that made that possible of the 2021 map, or if the 2011 map had allowed for greater deviation, would you have potentially allowed yourself more deviation?
  - A I still think that as a matter of federal law, it's safest to minimize the population deviation.
- Okay. Did you choose to stick with the strict one person one vote approach for your plans because that's what the quidelines mandate?
  - A But not specifically, although it's -- it is compatible certainly with the language in the guidelines.
- Okay. Next, contiguity. I mean, you adhered fully to the state's contiguity principle, correct, with the caveat, that they're the stray blocks that we have -- that you discussed earlier, correct?
- 24 A That's right. So if we're talking about the corrected plans, I believe those to comply fully and to the letter with

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the state's description of the contiguity guideline.

Q Okay. And earlier on, you had mentioned that one of the first steps you took in determining whether two majority-black districts could be drawn in Alabama was -- both computers, if you will, and an algorithm to generate numerous maps; is that right?

A That's correct.

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Q And my limited understanding is that what is that with these algorithms, you can plug in certain constraints, correct, or certain conditions to make a map, to make it more likely some types of maps will be either spit out by the algorithm, and certain types of maps will not be produced by the algorithm; is that fair?

A Yes, that's right. Our algorithmic code base allows for both constraints in the form of thresholds and also allows you to program a preference for a certain kind of district over another.

Q Okay. So do you -- going back to one person one vote.

Was that one of the constraints you put in place on the front end, say only give me maps that give me minimal deviation?

A To be precise, the constraint was 1 percent from ideal size.

Q Okay. And by there being less constraining of a constraint than minimal deviation, does that produce a greater number of maps -- greater number of possible maps?

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There's no question. In particular, since as I mentioned 1 2 earlier, those runs were done at the whole precinct level, at 3 the VTD level, I believe it to be either impossible or statistically nearly impossible to get one person balanced from whole precincts on a random basis. 11:33:05 5 Okay. Is contiquity one of the constraints you plugged in 6 7 at the outset? Absolutely. The algorithm enforces contiquity at the VTD level. Right. Next in the quidelines, you noted that they call 11:33:22 10 11 for districting plans that respect communities of interest, neighborhoods and political subdivisions, and you stated and --12 13 I'm sorry. I will pull this up. Make sure I'm quoting you 14 accurately here. Or at least giving the correct page numbers. This is again from your report page 53.3, you stated -- in 11:33:52 15 order to make seven finely population tuned districts, it's 16 17 necessary to split at least 6 of Alabama's 67 counties into 18 two pieces. Does that sound right? 19 Okay. To be precise, yes. You have to split six if you 11:34:25 20 are splitting them two ways. It's possible to split fewer than 21 six if you allow for more pieces. At the extreme, you could 22 imagine just a single county split if it's got seven pie wedges 23 in it. 24 Got it. So there need to be at least six county splits?

Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

11:34:44 25

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No.

- Let me rephrase that. 1
- 2 Sorry.
- 3 At least six times, a county must be split to get the one person one vote minimal deviation that we're looking for, right?
- 11:34:56 5
  - I think a precise way to phrase it would be that there 6 7 have to be at least six additional county pieces as a way of 8 phrasing.
- And that's simple math that counties rarely line up where -- you're unlikely to have a county that's exactly 717,000 11:35:13 10 11 whatever people in it to form that one perfect district, so you are going to probably have to split it at least a little to 12
  - 1.3 equalize it, right?
  - 14 That's the idea, yes.
- Okay. And I think you said earlier today that you tried 11:35:28 15 16 to take whole counties into a district whenever possible; is 17 that right?
  - 18 Definitely.
- 19 But you did have to break some counties. And first, I 11:35:48 20 guess to return -- like what did you mean by whenever possible?
  - You didn't just mean six counties, six county pieces, correct? 21
  - 22 Right. The way I would characterize that is that in the 23 process of drawing, particularly when you start with a blank
  - slate, you encounter decision junctures at many points in the 24 process. And at each of those decision junctures, I would try
- 11:36:16 25

## Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

- to keep a county whole, when possible. But in the course of drawing, there are many such decisions to make.
  - Q You said that you did give it a -- you said very high priority for minimizing those splits, right?
- 11:36:37 5 A For preferring lower numbers of splits, definitely.
  - Q Okay. Briefly, I want to talk about splits in your VTDs.
  - 7 I think you said you had sort of a priority for how you did
  - 8 that or how you determined which VTDs and precincts? To make
  - 9 it look cleaner in the transcript, you had a priority for which
- 11:37:14 10 precincts you would decide to split; is that fair?
  - 11 A I would say it a little differently. Is that as I
  - 12 described earlier, I split VTDs late in the process.
  - 13 Q Uh-huh.

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- 14 A And I described a little bit the way of deciding where to do so.
  - 16 Q Okay. And at least one of the things you looked at was to
  - 17 make sure that you were still creating two districts of over
  - 18 | 50 percent Black Voting Age Population, correct?
  - 19 A Yes. That was high up on the list in my assignment.
- 11:37:51 20 Q Okay. Did that same consideration drive any of your
  - 21 decisions to split counties?
  - 22 A Do you mean of whether to split counties or where to split
  - 23 | counties?
- 24 Q I would say let's start first with how many counties you split?

## Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

Okay. I have four demonstrative or illustrative plans, 1 2 and they split different numbers of counties. If I recall 3 correctly, my plan D splits only five. And so there's a series of decisions embodied differently in those different plans. 11:38:50 5 Those plans respect various kinds of decisions at those junctures I referenced earlier about which priorities to 6 7 emphasize. So plan D splits the fewest counties, and others are better by the lights of the traditional principles in the quidelines in other ways. Okay. Just so we're all working off the same page, I will 11:39:11 10 11 share my screen again, and hopefully this will go smoothly for 12 us. 13 So we're looking at page 5 of your report. Milligan

So we're looking at page 5 of your report. Milligan Exhibit 3. And here we see eight splits in counties for plan A, seven for plan B, nine for plan C, and five for plan D, correct?

A That's correct.

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Q And for plan D, while there are five counties that are ultimately divided up, do you recall the -- that's the plan that splits Jefferson County between three different districts or among three different districts?

A Definitely. That's how it's possible to get just five counties that are split.

Q Okay. And now is a good time to do a broad overview of the maps. I have sort of compiled them together in this

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document. So I won't have to switch among so many different --1 JUDGE MARCUS: Mr. LaCour, take your time and speak up 2 3 so our reporter can get it all, please. MR. LACOUR: Yes, Your Honor. I apologize. 11:40:49 5 JUDGE MARCUS: That's okay. Just take your time. 6 Keep your voice up so she can get it all down. 7 MR. LACOUR: Absolutely. BY MR. LACOUR: 8 So this document has a few excerpts from your report and a couple of Tom Bryan's reports together just so we don't have to 11:41:05 10 11 be jumping in between. But I will identify each page for the record so you know what we're looking at, and I am also happy 12 1.3 to do it a slower way and toggle between documents if you think 14 it would be preferable. But I'm hoping to be moving things along for everyone. 11:41:24 15 Here, this comes from Milligan Exhibit 3, your report, 16 17 Dr. Duchin, page 4. Does this look like the four maps that you 18 drew for this litigation? 19 Yes, it does. 11:41:40 20 Okay. Next, go to page 8 of what is actually the same 21 report. It reports the any-part Black Voting Age Population 22 for HB-1, which is the 2021 enacted map plan A, plan B, plan C, 23 plan D. Those numbers look correct to you? This does look to be an accurate copy of my report. 24 11:42:10 25 And then we have talked about splits already. Something Q

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else we were looking at earlier. I think this came from page 3 of your report. Again, Milligan Exhibit 3. And this shows the shaded colors, essentially which precincts have a little higher percentage of black population within Alabama, correct?

11:42:47 5 A Yes.

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Q Great. So the next document borrows from page 3 and puts it for everyone's benefit up against a similar analysis -- well, I will represent to you is a similar analysis that Tom Bryan prepared for the defendants from Defendants' Exhibit 2. This is his initial report on page 40. Did you have a chance to look at Mr. Bryan's report?

12 A I did.

13 Q Okay. Does this map look familiar to you?

A Yes. And it looks -- now that you have put them side by side, quite similar to mine, I am happy to say.

16 Q Yeah. That's -- we're all working off of similar facts.

I think he is measuring black alone Voting Age Population.

Do you recall if your measurements were any-part black or black

19 alone?

A I believe this to be any-part black, which is the population basis that I use in my reports except where otherwise noted.

Q Okay. But generally, the maps look fairly similar in distribution of black Alabamians?

A They do. And I would comfortably speculate that the

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difference, the visible difference between black alone and 2 any-part black would be minimal in a map of this kind. 3 Okay. I'd like to turn to plan A then. So this is plan A, which, again, comes from Milligan Exhibit 3, page 4. I also 11:44:35 5 have from Tom Bryan's supplemental report, which is Defendants' Exhibit 4, Page 69, his analysis that relays the lines from your plan A across the sort of race shaded precincts from the map we were looking at just a moment ago. Do you see that? I do. 11:44:59 10 11 And for everyone's benefit, I have added up here the 12 number of county splits and the any-part Black Voting Age 1.3 Population for your District 2, which I take is this tan 14 colored district in the southern part of the state and District 7, which is the light blue sort of in the central western part 11:45:22 15 of the state. Is that fair? 16 17 Yes. That all looks reasonable. 18 Okay. The first -- I may have shown this a little earlier 19 this morning. But well, actually, this is a little bit of a 11:45:41 20 different question.

Focusing on number of splits, what -- do you recall what factor led you to split two more districts than necessary in this particular plan?

24 A I think you mean two more counties.

11:45:58 25

Q Yes. I apologize. Two more counties?

#### Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

- A No problem. Just trying to be clear.
- 2 Q Thank you.

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- 3 A The -- every time you draw, you are balancing the
- 4 different priorities against each other. And so it's hard to
- 11:46:16 5 | truly whether it was consideration of municipalities, which
  - 6 aren't visible in this map, or whether it was physical
  - 7 geography or some other feature. But I am testifying that the
  - 8 choice of which counties to split was made in a balance of all
  - 9 and only the criteria that had been discussed.
- 11:46:44 10 Q And one of those criteria was to ensure two black majority
  - 11 congressional districts?
  - 12 A That was the question that I was asked to address.
  - 13 Q Okay. So that factor might explain why if we zoom in here
  - 14 between -- I will call the green district, District 4. Do you
- 11:47:13 15 recall if -- District 5 used to be up at the top in the enacted
  - 16 plan, and 4 beneath it.
  - Do you recall when you sort of reshuffled them if you put
  - 18 4 off to the northwest and 5 to the northeast?
    - A I think the numbers are correct as they're reported. In
- 11:47:34 20 Mr. Bryan's figure, would show those to be 4 and 5.
  - 21 Q Great. I just want to be sure.
  - 22 So if you were to close off this county split here, you
  - 23 could do that potentially. That would mean you would need more
  - 24 population for the rest of District 4 because it would be
- 11:47:58 25 losing population District 5, correct?

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- A Are you done? Sorry.
- 2 Q Yes.

balance.

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- A Yes. If you took that split county and colored it all, I
  think you were saying the pink color, magenta color, yes, you
  would lose green population or population for the green
  district and would have to gain it elsewhere in order to
- 9 Okay. And if you were not going to split another county
  to gain that population, there's only one place you could
  11:48:3510 really look at more population for District 4, correct?
  - A If I'm understanding your question right, it's true that the only two split counties in 4 as I have drawn it are Jefferson County where your hand currently is.
  - 14 Q Uh-huh.
- 11:48:55 15 A And that northern county whose name I can't currently 16 remember.
  - Q Okay. So if you had to come down to Jefferson County to get more population for District 4 -- I am going to zoom in.
- It appears that if you were going to be in population from around here, you would losing some black population from District 7, correct?
- 22 A There's now a fairly intricate counterfactual. But I
  23 think it's responsive to your question to say that the
  24 construction of District 7 definitely looks at race so as to
  11:49:43 25 ensure that it's majority black.

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Okay. And would it also be fair to say that the principle 1 2 of splitting fewer counties was subordinated to the principle 3 of getting two majority-black districts in Alabama? It's true that I regard the federal requirements of 11:50:18 5 population balance and minority electoral opportunity to be nonnegotiable and, therefore, higher ranked. 7 Okay. You know whether you could draw a plan like plan A that has only six splits in counties instead of eight and that still meets that nonnegotiable criteria of two majority-black districts? 11:50:48 10 11 I think what makes that a difficult question to answer is that it's hard to say what makes one plan like another, but I 12 13 would say that I made an effort here, really a strong effort to 14 balance all of the principles that we have named. Okay. I just mention -- let's see. And do you know 11:51:06 15 16 roughly how many voting age are within any given district on 17 average? Would it be right to say it's about 560,000? 18 I know it to be between 500 and 600,000 because there you 19 are taking those 700 sum and restricting to adults. So that 11:52:03 20 sounds correct. Okay. I just want to defer decision. Let's switch 21 22 screens I'm sharing real quick just to show you I'm not leaving 23 you.

MR. NAIFEH: Your Honor, I would like to request that that demonstrative be marked as an exhibit.

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11:52:22 25

## Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

MR. LACOUR: No objections. 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Why don't you put a number 3 on it? That would be Defense Exhibit 2 for identification, if I have it right. Do I have that right, Mr. LaCour? The only 11:52:39 5 other exhibit we marked for identification was the one you used 6 for impeachment yesterday. 7 MR. LACOUR: Yes, Your Honor. I believe that is correct. But if --8 9 JUDGE MARCUS: That's just a number. You give me any 11:52:52 10 number you want, and we can move along. 11 MR. LACOUR: We will go with Exhibit 2. JUDGE MARCUS: Defense Exhibit 2 for identification. 12 13 You have may proceed. Thank you. BY MR. LACOUR: 14 Turning to Defense Exhibit 4. There we go. And page 25 11:53:06 15 16 on the -- so this is Tom Bryan's supplemental report. Have you 17 had a chance to review this report, Dr. Duchin? 18 Yes. I believe so. 19 Okay. And he reports your plan A that -- looking at Table 11:54:00 20 3.2 that District 2 has a Voting Age Population-- an 18-plus 21 number, 560,170; is that right? 22 It's true that that's what is written here. 23 Okay. We'll ask for you to assume that he has his numbers 24 right, and I'm sure if he doesn't, we will hear about it later

Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

11:54:29 25

when he testifies.

And he reports 562,303 for District 7; is that correct? 1 2 Yes, he does. 3 And we will go ahead and run through on to the next page. District 2, 559,000 and some change; District 7, 762,630; for 11:55:04 5 plan C, 558,296 for District 2; and for your District 7 in plan C, 562,107. To close it out, for plan 4 or plan B District 2, 560,550; and for plan D District 7, 562,391. Did I recount all of those correctly, Dr. Duchin? I agree that that's what's written here. 11:55:42 10 Okay. And if those numbers are correct, then that would 11 mean that 1 percent of a district's Voting Age Population would be about 5,600 people, give or take, a few dozen; is that 12 13 right? 14 Yeah. That looks to be about right. 11:56:07 15 Okay. I should probably be careful, though. If there are any 16 17 precise calculations to do, I wouldn't want to have do those on 18 the spot, but would hope to have some time to sit and be 19 careful, make sure everything is done correctly. 11:56:29 20 Correct. I'll try to keep the math as simple as possible 21 for these purposes. 22 Returning just one more time to your plan A. Are you 23 aware of any traditional districting criteria that could explain two additional county splits? 24

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Sure. Easily. We've heard, for instance, about

11:57:00 25

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communities of interest, and an effort to preserve those, 1 2 whereas I said before, to keep municipalities whole could 3 certainly be a reason in particular in Alabama as in many states, there are municipalities that cross over county lines. 11:57:24 5 Okay. 6 MR. LACOUR: Your Honor, as I see, it is almost the 7 lunch hour. It might be a good time to stop. I am going to have a little more to go. 9 JUDGE MARCUS: Whatever works for you. Give me some idea, Mr. LaCour, how much do you think you have on cross, and 11:57:40 10 11 we will have a sense of how many other witnesses we will get to 12 today. 13 MR. LACOUR: Your Honor --14 JUDGE MARCUS: This is not to limit you. You take all the time you need. 11:57:55 15 16 MR. LACOUR: Say probably another 45 minutes to an 17 hour. I hate to overpromise and under-deliver. But whichever way --18 19 JUDGE MARCUS: Thanks for giving me your estimate. We 11:58:10 20 are not holding you to it. It's just a little before 12:00 Central Standard, 1:00 21 22 o'clock Eastern Standard. We'll break for one hour for lunch. 23 We'll reconvene 1:00 o'clock Central Standard, 2:00 o'clock Eastern Standard. We'll ask you, Dr. Duchin, if you would be 24 11:58:32 25 kind enough to stick with us as we proceed into the afternoon.

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Thank you all. And we will be in recess until 1:00 and 1 2 2:00 respectively. 3 (Recess.) JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. Mr. LaCour, you are ready to 13:01:04 5 proceed with Dr. Duchin on your cross. 6 MR. LACOUR: And, Your Honor, thank you. JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you. And you may proceed. 7 8 MR. LACOUR: Thank you. BY MR. LACOUR: Dr. Duchin, welcome back. I hope you had a nice lunch. 13:01:15 10 11 We will pick up where we left off. I am going to share my 12 screen again and start with plan B at this time. Can you see 1.3 that now? 14 Yes, I can. So question here: So we have got seven county splits 13:01:37 15 instead of the bare minimum six that would be needed if all we 16 17 were trying to do was equalize population; is that correct? 18 No. As we heard, you can get under six if you're willing 19 to tolerate more pieces. 13:01:5620 Splits of like -- we will stipulate when we say county splits, we're referring to splits of counties. Would that be 21 22 the more accurate --23 No. So the number of split counties can -- I'm sorry. I don't mean to be -- I want to be accurate. The number of split 24 13:02:19 25 counties can get below six, but if you are going to split them

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only two ways, then six is the minimum.

Q Okay. So number of two-way county splits is one greater here than would be necessary if all you were trying to do was equalize population; is that fair?

A I'm sorry. Yes, that's fair.

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Q I'd like to draw your attention, then, to District 2 in the southwest corner. And I just for the record, I'm showing Milligan Exhibit 3 at page 4, plan B, as well as Defendants' Exhibit 4 at Page 71.

So we have got a split here between what is 2 and 7. Do you recall why you didn't close this county on the west side of CD 2 and maybe give up some of this county on the east side of CD 2, or vice versa, close one of them? Because it appears you can sort of work your way around, right, and equalize across those four districts here, right?

A Let's see. I think that's Clarke County, if I remember right?

Q I think that's right, yes.

A So this is one of really innumerable choices that you face when drawing. And I think it's probably fair to say that I tried this the other way, which has ripple effects in several other places, and that the top of my consideration was to balance the principles that we have described.

Q Okay. But the principle of equal population would not require four splits among these four districts, right? It

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would only require three splits among these four districts? 2 The nature of that and of all the requirements is that it 3 interacts with the others to produce the choices that you see. Uh-huh. Could it -- I mean, tell me if I'm reading this 13:04:41 5 all correctly. 6 Generally speaking, if we were to close this off here 7 (indicating)? Uh-huh. 8 Δ By expanding 2 out this way, that means we would need to 9 expand 7 into Jefferson County if we were going to avoid 13:04:55 10 11 splitting another county, correct? 12 I think it's fairly complicated, but this is one of the 13 reasons that I provided multiple demonstrative maps, and you 14 can see that Clarke County is whole in District 2 in some of my other demonstratives. So that might be a good place to look to 13:05:16 15 16 explore that counterfactual. 17 Okay. But generally speaking, as a map drawer, I mean, it 18 does work a bit like a puzzle, right? So if you push a little 19 here, it's going to -- if you are going -- it's like moving 13:05:35 20 population clockwise in this instance, right? That's going to require population continue moving in some direction in CD 7 21 22 unless you're going to break into a new county, correct? 23 Well, I can say that moving population clockwise is certainly not how I was thinking about it as I was drawing. 24 13:05:59 25 But I take your more general point to be that a choice made in

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one place has ripple effects in other places. And I emphatically agree with that.

Q Okay. And so if you picked up -- if -- I guess that would mean District 7 would lose some of this population here (indicating), which is generally kind of in this area, which you see some yellow and some orange and a little bit of green in that area of Clarke County on the map, correct?

A It's hard to say, but I don't have any reason to doubt you.

Q Okay. And then if you were going to -- new voters for District 7 from Jefferson County -- just going to zoom in here -- there's not much green left to take from around here, correct?

A Well, you're describing a chain of reasoning that frankly doesn't resemble my process, so it's hard for me to follow along and agree or disagree in a principled way.

Q Okay. But if you are going to try to make some changes to this map to give more weight to the minimizing of splits in the counties, you were basically handed this map, that would be one way to do it, right, if you close off Clarke here (indicating), pick up some more people from Jefferson County here, then you have got Shelby County here (indicating), where we could come in, pick up some more people, and then you would come down to I believe this is Barbour County?

A That's right.

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Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

1 Q Pick up a few more people here, get the one person one 2 vote, correct?

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- A We are deep into speculative territory that I don't feel comfortable kind of commenting on, on the spot.
- Q Okay. Do you see a reason why -- just purely mathematically would not be possible to remove one of those county splits from this four-district area if you were setting aside all the other traditional districting criteria that you apply?
- A Oh, on the contrary, I think you could, and that's reflected in my other demonstratives.
- Q Okay. Would it be that the -- sort of the nonnegotiable criteria of ensuring that two majority-Black Voting Age Population districts were created explains why there are four splits in counties in this four-district area rather than just three splits in this four-district area?
- A So at the risk of being repetitive, it's -- there's a balancing of that relatively long list of criteria. And in this map, there's seven splits, and the map is better in some other ways, but I also have a demonstrative plan with as few as five counties that are split.
- Q Okay. But I think the question was -- I mean, you have got four splits in the four-district area. You would only really need -- mathematically, is it true there would only -- it's potentially you could get that down to only three if you

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weren't worried about balancing the other factors?

A Well, I think my best and fullest answer would be that I do believe other prioritizations of criteria are possible while retaining two majority-black districts. And that in particular as I think I mentioned in direct, if you kept something very much like my District 2 and 7 and, therefore, 1, you have a great deal of latitude with the other four districts to reorder

Q But maybe with this particular configuration of 2 and 7, you wouldn't have latitude down to just six splits in the counties; is that fair?

12 A Sorry.

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13 Q I'm sorry. Go ahead.

the priorities as you might see fit.

A Thanks. That's not something I'm prepared to answer in a speculative fashion looking at the map. But something I could certainly sit down with mapping software and explore.

Q And I'll just point you here. CD 7, this was from your report, and we looked at these numbers earlier. I am happy to go back if you want to double check them. But I put down that it was 50.24 percent any-part Black Voting Age Population, and if I think we said that 1 percent of Voting Age Population of a typical district is about 5,600 people, so we're talking less than 2,000 people would be your margin for CD 7, correct? So does that sound right?

A What exactly is the question? Is the question about

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removing 2,000 people?

Q If you removed -- so if you removed 1,000 black people of voting age from CD 7 and you replaced them with 1,000 non-black people of voting age, that would bring your number down below 50 percent, correct?

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A I don't think 1,000 would be enough from the numbers you were quoting before. It sounded like maybe a few thousand would, but, again, I'd want some time to sit down and get those numbers just right.

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- Q Okay. In any event, the margins are at least -- the margins are somewhat slim for CD 7, fair enough?
- 12 A I think that the standard is 50 percent plus one person.
- 13 But 50.24 is certainly less than, say, 51 percent.
- 14 Q Uh-huh. I will move on to plan C. Zoom out just a 13:12:52 15 little. Can you see that?
  - 16 A I can.
    - Q Okay. And as with the other plans, the map on the left comes from Milligan Exhibit 3 page 4. That's your initial report. The map on the right that corresponds to it is from Tom Bryan's supplemental report, Defendants' Exhibit 4 at page 73.

So here we've got District 2, and I think this comes from page 8 of your report that shows that it is at 50.06 percent Black Voting Age Population, which by my math, equates to about 350 people of voting age? Does that sound sort of in the

# Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

- 1 ballpark?
- 2 A I think you're asking is it true that .06 percent of the
- 3 voting page population of a district is a few hundred people?
  - O Uh-huh.
- 13:13:56 5 A That sounds reasonable to me.
  - 6 Q Okay. Great.
  - 7 My question here -- we have nine splits in this particular
  - 8 map. I wanted to first ask about the ones here in the
  - 9 southwest corner of the map. What traditional districting
- 13:14:19 10 principles led you to draw that sliver through Washington and
  - 11 | Clarke counties?
  - 12 A Well, I don't specifically recall that decision juncture,
  - 13 but I can imagine that one possibility might have been the
  - 14 compactness of District 7.
- Q Okay. What leads you to say that, just looking at the map
  - 16 here?
  - 17 A Well, again, if we're looking at the Polsby-Popper
  - 18 measure, or indeed at the Reock measure, in either of those
  - 19 cases, the idealized shape is a circle.
- 13:15:04 20 O Uh-huh.
  - 21 A And I can see that this -- it's conceivable -- since you
  - 22 | are asking me, I think, to speculate, it's conceivable that
  - 23 this decision was made in order to produce a somewhat rounder
  - 24 District 7.
- 13:15:17 25 Q Okay. And would another way to do that be to sort of

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borrow from that hydraulic analogy, move counterclockwise now 2 to maybe pick up some of this intrusion into Jefferson County, 3 and then in the process, make these counties whole? There are honestly innumerable choices that you face 13:15:49 5 that's really only one of many conceivable ways to balance the decision in a different manner. 7 Okay. And so there are numerous ways you could have also potentially made either of these counties whole either as part of District 7 or as part of District 2, correct? That's correct. And I think that you will find some 13:16:12 10 11 examples in the other illustrative plans. 12 Okay. And you think one reason that there are nine splits 1.3 in counties in this plan as opposed to six splits in counties 14 is because of your -- the weight you gave to -- I apologize to flip around there -- was because of the weight you gave to the 13:16:48 15 16 criteria of ensuring two majority-black congressional 17 districts? 18 There's no question. And I have consistently acknowledged that I took minority electoral opportunity to be a 19 13:17:09 20 nonnegotiable principle sought in these plans. I will mention here you're also seeing in some of these 21 22 decisions a high priority on compactness and, of course, on 23 contiquity. 24 And we'll get to that in a minute. 13:17:30 25 Turning next to plan B --

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MR. NAIFEH: Before we move on to plan B, I want to 1 2 make sure that all of these demonstratives are being marked. 3 So I think we had one for plan B and one for plan C. JUDGE MARCUS: Did you want to mark this one B? This 13:17:54 5 is plan B? 6 MR. NAIFEH: This is D. We also saw B and C. 7 JUDGE MARCUS: So you are asking him to mark B and C as well as D? 8 MR. NAIFEH: Yes, Your Honor. 9 JUDGE MARCUS: Any objection to doing that, 13:18:05 10 11 Mr. LaCour? Because what you are showing is not exactly the 12 exhibit as it appears in Milligan 3. Plan C, B, and A are what existed, except you typed in some stuff at the top, right? 1.3 14 MR. LACOUR: Exactly. No objections, Your Honor, for plan B. 13:18:24 15 16 JUDGE MARCUS: Why don't we do this: Why don't we 17 just mark your modifications to Duchin's plans B, C, and D as 18 Defendants' identification 3, 4, and 5? If I have the numbers 19 right, I think that works. 13:18:41 20 MR. LACOUR: Yes, that's exactly right. 21 JUDGE MARCUS: Does that work for you, counsel? 22 MR. NAIFEH: Yes, Your Honor. 23 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. So the record is clear, the 24 exhibits being shown to Dr. Duchin by Mr. LaCour are 13:18:59 25 Illustrative Plans A, B, C, and D, which have been modified to

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typing at the top of the page, county splits, and the 2 percentage of APBVAP in each of Districts 2 and 7. Is that 3 right? In addition, they have also added a map MR. NAIFEH: from Defendants' Exhibit 4. 13:19:19 5 JUDGE MARCUS: That's on the other part of it. 6 other part of the page includes a defendants' exhibit from the 7 report of the supplemental report of Mr. Bryan. With that caveat, exhibits 3, 4, 5 -- would it be 3, 4, 5, and 6, Mr. LaCour, the four of them? 13:19:40 10 11 MR. LACOUR: I believe it's 2 --JUDGE MARCUS: We have already marked -- okay, so it's 12 3, 4, and 5 are marked as defendants' exhibits for 13 14 identification. You may proceed. Thank you. MR. LACOUR: Great. 13:19:56 15 BY MR. LACOUR: 16 17 Dr. Duchin, we now come to plan D. Thank you for your 18 patience. 19 This is one that splits Jefferson County among three 13:20:10 20 different districts, correct? That's correct. 21 Α 22 Do you recall what percentage of Jefferson County's black 23 residents ended up in your version of CD 7 and what percent were placed into CDs 4 and CD 6? 24 13:20:30 25 A I don't think I ever calculated those percentages

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anywhere, including in my reports, but I can tell you that 2 consideration here is to keep the core of the city of 3 Birmingham as whole as possible. It's worth pointing out that the city boundaries here are especially contorted, and so it's 13:20:55 5 very difficult, as in the state's plan, to keep the city completely whole. The city core it's easier to do so. 7 Okay. And with that caveat, I mean, does it appear here -- I am zooming in a bit, and I'm sorry it's a little granary -- on Tom Bryan's version of your plan D, does it appear that race predominates in how these particular lines are drawn 13:21:24 10 11 between District 4, District 6, and District 7? 12 Frankly, it's just really hard to tell. 13 MR. NAIFEH: Objection to the form of the question. It calls for a legal conclusion. 14 JUDGE MARCUS: Why don't you reframe the question if 13:21:45 15 16 you could, Mr. LaCour? BY MR. LACOUR: 17 18 Dr. Duchin, looking at the shapes of these lines that 19 separate District 4, District 6, and District 7, is it the race 13:22:07 20 of the population included within District 7, does it appear to be a factor that was used for drawing this particular line? 21 22 Okay. So it's very hard to tell just legitimately as a 23 question of the image resolution. But it looks to me that I can see those green colored precincts on both sides of the 24 13:22:38 25 District 4, District 7 dividing line. At least, that's my best

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effort to narrate what I am seeing in this illustration. And I 2 think you would say that if the line was drawn in some 3 predominantly race conscious way, you might expect to see that green population included in District 7. But as I have 13:23:00 5 testified, I only looked at race when drawing specific boundary lines to make sure that I was retaining the majority-black 7 character of the districts that I was drawing. Okay. And have you split any precincts in Jefferson 8 County in this particular map? I think it's very likely practically certain, because as I 13:23:22 10 11 said before, all the population balancing was done by splitting precincts in those counties that had already been split. 12 13 Okay. Do you recall the racial makeup of the parts of the 14 precincts placed in District 7 versus in another district? Well, I certainly don't specifically recall that and never 13:23:46 15 computed it. But I will continue to maintain that the race 16 17 consciousness of selections was only in the service of 18 retaining the majority-black character of the districts as I 19 drew. 13:24:0620 Okay. Take a break from the screen sharing for just a 21 moment. 22 I would like to move on to compactness, and I am going to 23 share the screen again. Going back to Milligan Exhibit 3 and -- okay. So we've 24 got some compactness scores here on page 6 of your report. I 13:24:44 25

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- believe we discussed some of these this morning, or you 2 discussed some of these this morning with counsel for the 3 Milligan plaintiffs; is that correct? Yes. This is the section that discusses compactness, and, 13:25:06 5 yes, we discussed it earlier today. Okay. And then to summarize, on the average Reock score, 6 the state's plan does the best of any of the five plans here, correct? That's correct. Your plans on average do better than the Polsby-Popper 13:25:25 10 11 score -- on the Polsby-Popper test? 12 That's correct. All four illustrative plans are more 1.3 compact than HB-1 on Polsby-Popper. 14 Okay. And then one of your four plans is more compact under the block cut edges approach, and the other three are 13:25:47 15 16 less compact; is that correct? 17 That's correct. 18 Now, these metrics also be applied on a district-by-district basis, correct? 19 13:26:08 20 Α No. Block cut edges is a plan-wide score, but the other two are averaged over the districts. 21 22 Okay. And so for Polsby-Popper, for example, if a 23 district were shaped like a salamander would score lower on
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Yes. And there I think you're referring to the original

Polsby-Popper than a district shaped like a square, right?

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gerrymander, which was Gary's salamander and, yes, that's part of the history of compactness is the idea that reptilian districts are less compact.

Q I thought you would get the reference.

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In your view, what's the lowest Polsby-Popper score a district could have and still be considered geographically compact?

A Well, as I have actually written widely, I think
Polsby-Popper scores are highly context dependent. I will be
very brief. I won't -- I promise not to give a whole lecture.
But in particular, they're subject to what some people have
called the coast line penalty. And so, for instance, if you're
redistricting in Maryland, you can have a district that's quite
functionally compact with a Polsby-Popper score of 10 percent.
And so it really depends. You know, on the other hand, if you
are in Iowa, it's much -- there's much less reason that you
might draw a district that's considered reasonably compact
while still having a very low score.

Q Okay. Now, you were retained to show that two sufficiently compact majority-black districts could be drawn in Alabama, correct?

A Perhaps more broadly as a Gingles I expert.

Q Right. But you don't report a compactness score anywhere in your three reports for any of the majority-black districts that you drew, correct?

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That's true. I'm sure those numbers are in my backup 1 2 materials, but I didn't highlight them individually in the 3 report. Okay. You think that district-by-district information 13:28:35 5 might be relevant for determining whether you sufficiently compact districts that are majority-black could be drawn in 7 Alabama? To be clear, actually, I don't think that's the language 8 of Gingles I, which asks instead whether the minority population is sufficiently compact to enable the drawing of 13:28:55 10 11 majority-minority districts. 12 Correct. But for the minority population to be 13 sufficiently compact, they would need to be compact within a district, correct? 14 I think the prevailing interpretation is that to witness 13:29:11 15 the sufficient compactness is to draw an entire plan that's 16 17 highly conformant with the traditional districting principles. 18 And so I think the overall compactness of the plan is part of how that has traditionally been assessed. 19 13:29:36 20 You had a plan, however, that let's just say had seven districts. Six of them were perfect circles. And the seventh 21 22 snaked or salamandered (sic) all around the circles, that could 23 return an average score that in theory looked decent, correct? A few observations about that hypothetical. You are, I 24 13:30:09 25 think, correctly observing that circles don't pack, they don't

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fit together nicely to make a whole. And so it's certainly 2 true that if you had several circular districts you would also 3 have to fill up that negative space with something that would not be very compact. 13:30:25 5 Uh-huh. And that seventh filler district would not be compact, correct, even if it was part of an overall plan that scored well on average compactness score, correct? Yes, if I am understanding you right. I think that is the 8 nature of averages that one thing can be lower, other things can be higher, and then there's a balance between the low and 13:30:51 10 11 the high in the nature of an average. So your scores -- the scores you report don't tell us 12 1.3 whether the majority-black Districts 2 and 7 that you drew scored better than the District 2 and District 7 that were 14 enacted by the Legislature, correct? 13:31:12 15 Well, I did review the district-by-district compactness 16 17 scores in Mr. Bryan's report. And I do agree with them to the 18 number of digits that he included. And so I can report having 19 reviewed and confirmed those numbers that the least compact 13:31:36 20 districts in my plans, which are, I think, invariably not Districts 2 and 7, but Districts 2 and 1, those are always the 21 22 least compact districts in my plans. Those have lower compactness scores than the other districts. 23 24 On Polsby-Popper, I am sure we can look at the exact

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numbers, but from memory, I believe them to be around

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15 percent, which I will note is comparable to or better than the least compact districts in the state's enacted plan from this cycle and from the last cycle, as well, where districts got as low as .13.

Q You think that those district-by-district scores would be

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Q You think that those district-by-district scores would be relevant, however, to an overall compactness analysis at Gingles I?

A Yes. I'm trying to make sure I understand. Yes.

Individual district scores are how you get the average. And I think it's legitimate to look at the scores individually and together, as we are now doing.

Q All right. We'll return to your maps probably not the last time. I will be honest. But let's go again to Exhibit 3, Milligan Exhibit 3, page 4.

So did you testify earlier that Districts 4 and 5 in your maps were drawn to make them more compact than they had been earlier? Scratch that.

Now, Districts 4 and 5 in each of these maps doesn't bear great resemblance to Districts 4 and 5 in the 2021 map, correct?

A That's true. The enacted map, in fact, has elongated districts in the north of the state as I do in the south.

Q Nor do they bear much resemblance to the 2011 map that was passed by the Legislature, correct?

A That's right. It is similar in that respect.

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Why was it important to you to restructure Districts 4 and 1 5 in your maps when neither of them were adjacent to the new 3 majority-black district you were drawing down in the south of the state? 13:34:22 5 Oh, I hope the reason is quite clear. It's because, as I said, I regarded compactness to be a priority higher ranked in 6 7 the state guidelines and more broadly than the preservation of district cores. But to answer that fully, I think it's worth noting that you can retain the majority-minority districts and make other 13:34:45 10 11 choices with those four while still keeping Gingles I in place. 12 You didn't produce a map for the Court, though, that tried 1.3 to do that, did you? 14 That's right. Because of my reading, that compactness was higher ranked. 13:35:06 15 16 And why -- did you say it was something in the guidelines 17 that led you to prioritize compactness over cores of districts? 18 I did. 19 Can you remind me exactly what that was, or I can perhaps 13:35:32 20 pull up the guidelines, if that will be helpful? 21 I'm happy to do it broadly, and then we can pull them up 22 if you would like to quote directly.

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earlier, the first page discusses population equality and

minority opportunity to elect hand in hand with equal

But as I showed when we reviewed the quidelines together

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protection. Immediately after that are listed compactness and contiguity. Several parts lower is section J, which lists several criteria, including district cores, and then it is specified that within j., the priorities are unranked, which leads me to conclude in a manner that comports with practice in every other state that I've seen that the federal requirements and compactness and contiguity are to be considered higher ranked than district cores, and for that matter, the consideration of incumbency.

Q Okay. I am going to pull up the guidelines. I just want

Q Okay. I am going to pull up the guidelines. I just want to make sure we're looking at the same thing.

This is Milligan Exhibit 28 and -- so I think you're referring here -- starting on page 2 at line 21, was it based in part on -- if I am getting you wrong, I apologize -- on this line here saying, The following redistricting policies are embedded in the political values, traditions, customs and usages of the state of Alabama, and shall be observed to the extent that they do not violate or subordinate the foregoing policies prescribed by the constitution and laws of the United States and of the state of Alabama?

A That's right. I think that it's clear both from that language and from part g. on the next page. There it is. So you see clearly here that it is specified that within j., there's no order of precedence to be inferred. And I think the plain reading of that is that, in the larger structure of the

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document, there is an order of precedence to be inferred. 1 2 Okay. Is compactness listed in j.? 3 No. It -- indeed, this is my point. It comes before j. If you flip back to the previous page, you will see that 13:38:29 5 compactness is listed up in h. Okay. And then to go back to page 3, it says -- and to g. 6 The criteria identified in paragraphs j(i) through (vi) are not listed in order of precedence, and in each instance where they conflict, the Legislature shall at its discretion determine which takes priority. 13:38:52 10 11 Do you read that to mean that if there's a conflict among the j. criteria and the Legislature gets to decide, and any 12 1.3 other criteria trumps the j. criteria when there's a conflict? 14 The ones that are listed earlier, I would say that this indicates that the j. criteria are subordinate to the ones that 13:39:16 15 16 are listed earlier. And I would add to that, that it's my understanding -- not 17 18 being an attorney -- it's my understanding that these 19 quidelines are not part of state law, but describe the practice 13:39:35 20 that the Legislature uses to draw lines. Okay. Your position, looking in here at the beginning of 21 22 j. refers to constitution and laws of the united States and the 23 State of Alabama, your position is not that compactness is a

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constitutional requirement, correct?

A That's correct.

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Or that compactness is required by federal law or Alabama 1 2 law? 3 I can't speak to whether it's considered to be part of Alabama law, not being an expert in Alabama law. 13:40:13 5 Fair. But I am aware that it's not considered to be federal law. 6 7 Okay. Did you look at Alabama practice, either in this past redistricting cycle or past decades to see whether it looked like the Legislature has been giving compactness that level of priority as opposed to core retention? 13:40:37 10 11 My principle means of learning about Alabama practice was a study of the enacted plans from 2021 and from 10 years 12 1.3 earlier in 2011. And as one often does, when trying to understand redistricting priorities, I did infer some 14 13:41:07 15 priorities and interpretations from the properties of those 16 plans. 17 And was respect for core retention one of the guiding 18 principles that you were able to infer from looking at the 2011 19 map as opposed -- or when compared to the 2021 map? 13:41:29 20 Oh, I certainly agree that core retention seems to have 21 been highly prioritized in the creation of the 2021 plan. 22 Let's see. Turning now to communities of interest. 23 You referred this morning to the fact that there has not been a sustained effort to map out or quantify all the 24 13:42:05 25 different communities of interest that might be present in the

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state of Alabama; is that correct?

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A Oh, I think that goes farther than my statement. I just said I wasn't aware of a state effort, and that I had checked the state's redistricting website to confirm that.

Q Did you look at past maps to see if you could infer from them any communities of interest?

A Well, I think it would be quite difficult to read backwards to reverse engineer, you might say, communities of interest from a map, particularly since, as I said this morning, I don't think that each district itself constitutes a unitary community.

But I did get some ideas about splittings from the state's earlier plans, and as I mentioned, from the state's current board of education plan.

Q Did you get any ideas about -- the opposite of splittings -- keepings together, if you will, from the past maps?

A Did I get any ideas about areas that were kept together, sure. By observation I could see some areas that hadn't been split. I'm trying to stay with the spirit of your question.

Q Okay. For example, how far back did you look at past maps from -- past congressional maps from Alabama?

A As I've testified, I focused on the last two, on the maps from 2011 and 2021.

I have definitely reviewed some older maps, but that would

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be longer ago and farther from the current process.

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Q Okay. So you couldn't say, for example, if two gulf counties, Mobile and Baldwin, have been together in the same district for half a century or not?

A I couldn't. Not with a high degree of certainty. But I'm willing to believe that that's true at the congressional level. It's certainly the case that Mobile County is split in the current State Board of Education map, and that parts of Mobile, city and county, are connected to parts of the Black Belt.

Q I will have a few questions for you about a map in a moment. But returning to communities of interest. You said in your report that it was possible to identify several clear examples of communities of interest of particular salients to black Alabamians.

Am I recounting your testimony from this morning correctly that the two you focused on were preserving the cores of urban areas and preserving just the core of the Black Belt?

- A I would say -- the way I described it is retaining as much of the Black Belt as possible in majority-black districts.
- Q Okay. Now, the Black Belt counties with the exception, perhaps, of Montgomery, do not contain those large urban centers that you were referring to, correct?
- A That's right. I would say Montgomery is the clearest exception.
- 13:45:50 25 | Q Okay. So did you take into account any other communities

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- 1 of interest?
- 2 A The only two kinds that I considered were the two that you
- 3 just cited.
- 4 Q Okay. And it's possible there are communities of interest that are relevant to white and black Alabamians alike, correct?
  - 6 A No question about that. In particular, I think urban 7 cores are relevant to black and white Alabamians alike.
- 8 Q Were you able to infer from looking at the 2011 and 2021
  9 maps how the Legislature has applied the community of interest
  13:46:4310 factor in the past?
  - 11 A Well, as I've said --
  - MR. NAIFEH: Asked and answered.
  - 13 JUDGE MARCUS: I think it has been. Sustained.
  - 14 BY MR. LACOUR:
- 13:46:57 15 Q You know, could community of interest consideration
  16 explain why Mobile and Baldwin counties were kept together in

  - 18 A Did you say could it or did it explain?
  - 19 Q Could it?

2021?

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- 13:47:09 20 A Could it. Certainly could.
  - 21 Q Could a community of interest explain why the Wiregrass
  - 22 counties were kept together in the 2021 map?
  - 23 A It certainly could.
- Q Okay. And similar question, could communities of interest considerations explain why Madison and Morgan counties were

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kept together in the 2021 --2 MR. NAIFEH: Objection here to this line of 3 questioning. It's calling for speculation. JUDGE MARCUS: Okay to answer if she can give it to 13:47:42 5 us. THE WITNESS: I'm willing to concede that it could, 6 7 but I was unable to find any systematic description of what communities were considered. I would have indeed been very happy to find such a description. BY MR. LACOUR: 13:47:53 10 11 Could you describe the nature of your inquiry into how 12 that guideline might have been applied? I think you said you 1.3 looked for anything the state had put together. Did you do 14 anything further? No, that's all that I did to ascertain whether there had 13:48:09 15 16 been a state publication or a state collection process. 17 Okay. Now, I think you said earlier it was an express 18 goal of yours to keep the Black Belt counties in majority-black 19 districts to the extent you could. Is that fair? Α Yes. And is it fair to say that you testified this morning 21

13:48:40 20

22 that's part of the reason why your compactness scores for CD 1

23 and CD 2 were lower, correct?

That's right. Oops. Sorry. 24

13:49:01 25 Q Go ahead.

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A That's right. The elongated east to west nature of the Black Belt itself is the reason that CD 2 is also elongated in east to west fashion and because that's close to the south of the state, that ends up prescribing elongation for District 1, as well.

Q Okay. So the goal of a majority-black district or rather the goal of two majority-black districts that held most of the counties in the Black Belt took precedence over compactness in District 2?

13:49:4310 A No. I can't agree with that. In my understanding of what
11 by Alabamalites should be considered reasonably compact, I used
12 the state's plan as a guide where the least compact district

from 10 years ago had a score, a Polsby-Popper score of .13.

All of my districts are more compact than that. So I think I was able to maintain reasonable compactness by Alabama standards in my entire plan.

17 Q Now, none of your plans put all 18 Black Belt counties 18 into one district, correct?

19 A That's correct. Although if -- I'm sorry.

13:50:30 20 Q No. Go ahead.

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21 A If I remember right, at least one plan puts all 18 Black
22 Belt counties into either District 2 or District 7.

23 Q I'm not a hundred percent certain that's correct. But we 24 can --

13:50:51 25 A I am confident --

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- Q We can turn to the maps?
- 2 A Sure. By memory, that's plan D.
- 3 Q Okay. And -- well, I've got plan D here, so... and
- 4 Milligan Exhibit 3, page 4. So I believe this is also a Black
- 13:51:22 5 Belt county, correct, where at least some of it is in
  - 6 District 3?
  - 7 A Indeed, that's right. And that should be Russell, I
  - 8 think.

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- 9 Q I believe --
- 13:51:32 10 A Which --
  - 11 Q Correct.
  - 12 A In plan C then. Russell is whole and is included in CD 2
  - 13 as is the rest of the Black Belt included in either CD 2 or
  - 14 CD 7.
- 13:51:46 15 Q Pickens in CD 3 in plan C is CD 4, correct?
  - 16 A So that is not one of the 18 counties traditionally
  - 17 | identified with the Black Belt, although I agree with you that
  - 18 sometimes is included on secondary lists.
  - 19 Q Going to page 10 of your report. I think you list here
- 13:52:20 20 among the 18 Black Belt counties, Pickens county, correct?
  - 21 A That's true that's listed there and not exactly sure which
  - 22 one it is from memory in the map. But I will accept your
  - 23 representation if you're saying that it's excluded in plan C.
  - 24 Q Our count was that the 18 counties were split among at
- 13:52:53 25 | least three districts in each map, but we can certainly compare

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- and contrast that later.
- 2 A Sure. I would be happy to do that later.
- Q I want to get back to -- so do you recall if there was a reason why all 18 counties were not placed into just two

13:53:21 5 districts instead of three?

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A Well, again, with apologies for repetition, one is balancing as a mapmaker. Quite a formidable number of different priorities, and it's possible that that goal was only attained in 17.5 counties, which is I think what we see in plan B, 17.5 out of 18.

I would submit that that's quite a ways towards the goal of securing representation in majority-black districts throughout the Black Belt. And to that I would only add one could certainly get all 18, but it would come at a cost to other principles as we keep hearing.

- Q Would it potentially come at a cost to two majority-Black Voting Age Population districts?
- A So now I think you're asking is it possible to get all 18 into Districts 2 and 7 in a plan where those remain majority-black, right?
- 21 Q Right.
- 22 A I am confident that that's possible. But it would require
  23 either more county splits or less compactness and more likely
  24 both.
- 13:54:41 25 Q Okay. So if your goal was to get most of the Black Belt

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districts?

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counties both together and into majority-black districts, would it be fair to say the community of interest you were trying to keep together was not so much the Black Belt as it was just black people more generally? No, I don't think so. I don't think anywhere here or ever have I identified black people, full stop, as a community of interest. Communities of interest, in my understanding, are primarily geographical. And so that would not qualify. Okay. I will take this down. Do you recall from the guidelines a statement we Okay. 11 were looking at just a moment ago that says contest between comments will be avoided whenever possible? 12 1.3 That's right. If I recall, that's in that section j. that we discussed. 13:56:00 15 Right. And you didn't address incumbents anywhere in your 16 report, did you? 17 That's right. I did not, although I did obtain a list of incumbent addresses while forming the plans. Those were not 19 part of the primary plan drawing. I did look at the number of 13:56:24 20 districts pairing incumbents at the end, although that's not included in the report. Okay. So you know whether the maps place one incumbent in

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each district or whether they put multiple incumbents in some

From memory, I think it's the case in all four of my

illustrative plans that there were two districts with multiple 2 incumbents, either two incumbents or in some cases even three. 3 Okay. And if Tom Bryan's supplemental report indicated that between four and five incumbents in two different 13:57:07 5 districts --That's consistent -- sorry. 6 7 JUDGE MARCUS: Let him finish the question. Was there a question there, Mr. LaCour? If there was, let me hear it, please. BY MR. LACOUR: 13:57:19 10 11 Yeah. So if Tom Bryan's report, Defense Exhibit 4 at page 12 16 indicated that your plan places four and five incumbents in 1.3 districts with each other. Do you have any reason to doubt that conclusion? 14 No. On the contrary, I agree with that conclusion, that 13:57:33 15 there are either two districts with two incumbents making four 16 17 overall, or one with two and one with three making five 18 overall. 19 And you said you didn't consider incumbents at the outset 13:57:46 20 of your map drawing process? That's correct. 21 Α

Q Did you consider them at any point in your map drawing process?

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A I did look at the end state the finalization stage to see whether it would be possible to reduce the incumbency

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pairing -- not to reduce incumbency itself. And I -- I determined that it would be possible, for instance, to keep Representative Sewell in District 7, which she has represented, and I believe that my plan D does so. That was accomplished with little cost to the other principles.

I also satisfied myself that it would be possible to further reduce the incumbency pairing and indeed to reduce it to no pairing at all if we are willing to sacrifice the higher-ranked principles of compactness, and certainly contiguity, but also if we are willing to sacrifice the county integrity.

- Q And there's a lot to be accomplished if you sacrificed contiguity, correct?
- A Yes. Although as we heard in the Massachusetts example, not everything.
- Q Not everything. You don't think it's possible to draw a geographically -- or basically you don't think it's possible to draw a map that is as compact as the maps you have produced as the other criteria to the extent you've applied them also avoids pairing incumbents and results in two majority-black districts?
- A I think what I'm comfortable saying is that to reduce pairing of incumbents all the way to zero could still be accomplished with two majority-black districts, I think that it can, but at significant cost to the other principles. If I

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could add one thing.

Q Please.

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A Just to illustrate some of the tradeoffs that that requires, I note in my report that two incumbents actually live not only in the same county, but a few highway exits apart.

And so it's clear that to keep those incumbents in different districts, of course one has to split that county. That's just a small illustration that it can literally require sacrifice to the other principles in order to raise the priority on incumbent protection.

Q One second. I apologize.

In fact I inferred that it was.

Okay. Turning to back to core retention. So you looked at the 2011 map and you looked at the 2021 map. Before you got started drawing your own illustrative maps. And you said earlier that it -- you could infer that core retention might have been important to the 2021 Legislature. Is that fair?

Q Okay. I think you testified earlier today that it is impossible to have as high a core preservation as the 2021 map has while having two majority-black districts; is that correct?

A Yes, I believe that to be a simple matter of numbers.

Q Okay. When you were gearing up your algorithm, did you try to preserve some degree of the core of districts in drawing your first few thousand maps or --

A That was -- I'm sorry.

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- 1 Q Sorry. Go ahead.
- 2 A That was not a consideration.
- 3 Q Okay. What preservation like some of the other criteria
- 14:02:18 5 A Yes, I would.
  - 6 Q So you could try to preserve 80 percent of the cores of
  - $7 \parallel$  districts or on average try to preserve 80 percent of the cores
  - 8 of districts as one of your goals, correct?
  - 9 A You could adopt that as a goal. That's the question?
- 14:02:38 10 Q Yes.
  - 11 A Yes, you could.
  - 12 Q And could your algorithm pull that in as constraints or as
  - 13 | a preference in producing maps?
  - 14 A Yes, I have done that in the past in other states.
- 14:02:55 15 Q Okay. But not in this case, correct?
  - 16 A I did not include that in this case.
  - 17 Q Core retention is a traditional redistricting principle,
  - 18 | correct?
  - 19 A Well, I would say that like incumbency consideration, it
- 14:03:13 20 | is expressly encouraged in some states and is prohibited in
  - 21 others as a consideration making it somewhat less traditional.
  - 22 Q But it's not uncommon for a legislature when it sets down
  - 23 to draw a new set of maps to start with the old set of maps,
  - 24 | correct?
- 14:03:35 25 A That requires me to speculate about process. Although I

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- do think it's a reasonable inference.
- Q Okay. In any event, it was inference you made in Alabama for 2021, correct?
  - A That's right.
- 14:03:51 5 Q So you mentioned the State Board of Education map a few times today. And you said that was informative for you in drawing your illustrative plans?
- A I considered it. I wouldn't put it high up on the list of considerations, but at some point in the line drawing process I became curious just how that second majority-black district was formed.
  - 12 Q Uh-huh.
  - A And so I looked to that map to give me a sense of priorities that the state had in drawing it.
- Q Okay. In trying to draw a congressional map in understanding the state's priorities, do you think the way the state drew its 2021 congressional map would be a more informative source, or the way it drew its 2021, eight-member State Board of Education map?
- 14:05:00 20 A I treated them both as highly informative.
  - Q Okay. Do you think one would be more informative than the other?
- 23 A That's hard to say. I mean, we are talking about a
  24 congressional plan, but if the question that you're seeking to
  14:05:20 25 answer is how to make a decision that is not present in the

- congressional plan, then I think you would find the board of education plan to be more informative.
- Q Okay. Do you know when the State Board of Education map 4 in Alabama first featured a split in Mobile County?
- 14:05:44 5 A In other words, do I know what it looked like in 2011? Is 6 that the substance of the question?
  - 7 Q Yes.
  - 8 A I don't actually know that.
  - 9 Q I am going to show you Defendants' Exhibit 26.
- So this is defense Exhibit 26. I will represent to you that this is the State Board of Education map that was drawn
  - 12 after the 2000 census?
  - 13 A Right.
- 14 Q Do you see here Mobile County is not divided up in this map, correct?
  - 16 A I thought you were just asking about the 2011 plan, but 17 this one is 20 years old, just to be clear, yes?
  - 18 Q Yes. And I'll -- I am going to move from this to the '21 19 map and bring us all the way to the present.
- 14:06:45 20 A Understood.
  - 21 Q So you see Mobile County is not split. Is that fair?
  - 22 A That is fair.
  - 23 Q And it's in a district with Baldwin County and I believe
  - 24 | that's Escambia?
- 14:06:58 25 A I accept that.

We have got District 5 that covers a great portion of the 1 2 Black Belt; is that correct? 3 It is correct. Okay. And 2011, Alabama would still have been subject to 14:07:19 5 Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, correct? Certainly true. 6 7 Okay. So before enforcing a new State Board of Education map, Alabama would need to obtain preclearance of that map either from the Department of Justice or from a federal district court in Washington, D.C., correct? 14:07:35 10 11 Yes, that's my understanding. 12 And that process typically required a covered jurisdiction 13 like Alabama to prove that its new districts did not result in 14 retrogression. 14:07:52 15 MR. NAIFEH: Object here that this is calling for 16 legal conclusions. 17 JUDGE MARCUS: What is it you are trying to get her to 18 tell us, whether it amounts to retrogression as a matter of law 19 under the Voting Rights Act? If you are asking for that, that 14:08:0620 calls for a legal conclusion and her expertise does not include 2.1 that. 22 MR. LACOUR: I'm asking --JUDGE MARCUS: Let me finish, please. If you are 23 24 asking something else, Mr. LaCour, please let me know what that 14:08:17 25 would be.

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MR. LACOUR: I was asking simply as historical matter 1 2 in 2011 if we wanted to -- if Alabama wanted a new map to take 3 effect, they would need to show the DOJ typically that this new map would not have a retrogressive effect when compared to the 14:08:38 5 baseline old map. 6 JUDGE MARCUS: If you are asking her to tell us what 7 would have had a clear justice as a matter of retrogression. MR. LACOUR: No, Your Honor, it's simply whether the 8 9 state --JUDGE MARCUS: It's probably me, but I am not getting 14:08:54 10 11 the question. 12 MR. LACOUR: The question basically was to pass preclearance, the state would typically need to satisfy either 13 14 the U.S. Department of Justice or the district court for the District of Columbia that its new policy or its new map in this 14:09:11 15 16 instance was not retrogressive. 17 MR. NAIFEH: That is a legal question and it's also 18 outside the purview of the court. 19 JUDGE MARCUS: The objection is sustained. BY MR. LACOUR: 14:09:30 20 You did say earlier, Dr. Duchin, though, that Section 5 21 22 did apply to Alabama in 2011; is that right? 23 That's right. The Shelby County decision was in 2013 as I 24 recall. 14:09:42 25 Q I'd like to show you next Defendant's Exhibit 27.

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This is a complaint that the state filed in the district 1 2 court for the District of Columbia in 2011 seeking preclearance 3 of its 2011 State Board of Education districts, as well as, I believe, its congressional districts. 14:10:23 5 MR. NAIFEH: Objection. This is -- there's no foundation that she's ever considered this document or for the 6 7 content that Mr. LaCour is describing. 8 JUDGE MARCUS: Let me ask you: Was that one of the 9 exhibits you objected to? 27? MR. NAIFEH: We don't have an objection to the exhibit 14:10:37 10 11 coming in, but I have an objection --12 JUDGE MARCUS: The reason I raised that --MR. NAIFEH: -- characterization of the exhibit on the 13 record without asking the question. 14 14:10:47 15 JUDGE MARCUS: The reason I raised the question is I understood that the Milligan plaintiffs objected to the 2011 16 17 plan, the complaint in Alabama, the holder on the grounds that 18 the documents from the litigation between the State of Alabama 19 and the DOJ were not relevant. You are not interposing that 14:11:13 20 objection? MR. NAIFEH: Well, we -- I am -- I object to the 21 22 relevance unless he can lay a foundation for its relevance. 23 if he wants to lay a foundation for its relevance. JUDGE MARCUS: Can you tell me, Mr. LaCour, just 24 14:11:27 25 briefly what it is you want to do with this?

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MR. LACOUR: So we've heard from Dr. Duchin that she 1 2 found it persuasive that the State Board of Education map has split Mobile in order to form a second majority-minority 3 district and that that might be some evidence that the 14:11:47 5 Legislature used that as or maybe needed to preserve a community of interest, or as the -- otherwise, like generally 7 fine with splitting Mobile. I think if you see the 2001 map we were looking at earlier, or together, the 2011 when the census was drawn -- when the census was complete, District 5 which was heavily Black Belt lost a lot of population and then to avoid 14:12:17 10 11 retrogression, the least evidence suggests that to avoid retrogression, that is why Mobile was split and added -- City 12 1.3 of Mobile was added to Section 5. And --14 JUDGE MARCUS: Let me stop you at that point. All of that may be true. But if we unpack it piece by piece, just ask 14:12:43 15 16 your question and see where we are going to go. 17 Just take it piece by piece if you want to get into this 18 and I can address each objection as you go along. 19 MR. LACOUR: Sure. 14:13:00 20 BY MR. LACOUR: So, Dr. Duchin, you looked at the 2001 map with me a 21 22 moment ago for the State Board of Education. 23 Yes.

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And District 5 covered a large portion of the Black Belt;

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is that correct?

14:13:14 25

Yes. 1 Α 2 Does it surprise you to learn between the 2000 census and 3 2010 census that district lost a great deal of population when compared to other districts in the State Board of Education 14:13:32 5 map? That would not particularly surprise me to learn. 6 7 And thus, if the state were to try to maintain a comparable black population within District 5, they would need to go somewhere to get that population, correct? That's one way of putting it. 14:13:54 10 11 Maybe not the most eloquent way of putting it. 12 Could that explain why District 5 thus was expanded into 1.3 Mobile city in the 2011 map for the State Board of Education? 14 MR. NAIFEH: Object. It calls for speculation. JUDGE MARCUS: Objection is sustained. 14:14:17 15 16 BY MR. LACOUR: 17 Very well. 18 JUDGE MARCUS: So you understand it, Mr. LaCour, you are asking Dr. Duchin to tell us to the extent she knows why it 19 14:14:30 20 is that the state redrew the boundary lines the way they did between '01 and '11. And I'm not sure that you have laid any 21 22 foundation that she has any knowledge of doing that. 23 objection is sustained. Let's move on. 24 MR. LACOUR: Absolutely.

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BY MR. LACOUR:

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Q Okay. So we are getting close to the end, Dr. Duchin. I appreciate your patience with me today.

Returning to something you said near the beginning. You talked about how you used your -- the algorithm and algorithmic computer system to generate a large number of maps.

A Yes.

Q And you had certain constraints put in on the front end when you started generating those maps. And I believe you said minimum population deviation, I think, was it plus or minus 1 percent?

11 A Yes.

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12 Q And contiguity was baked in, as well, correct?

A Correct. The algorithm always enforces contiguity at the VTD level and the population deviation threshold can be specified by the user.

Q Okay. What other constraints did you program in at the outset before you started generating maps?

A The only other constraints -- okay. So I doubt that you want to hear specifics, but if you do, I'm happy to expound on any of this, so let me know.

The algorithm in general has a strong preference for compactness that's, as you said, baked in. It doesn't have to be set by the user. The way that districts are formed, it's done in a manner that generally strongly favors compactness, particularly by the cut edges definition that I described

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The only other constraint that was added in that early algorithmic -- in fact, not a constraint, but an algorithmic preference, was to prefer plans in which there would be a second majority-minority district. And I can explain how that was done, if you would like to hear.

Q That would be great.

A Sure. So if you look at the BVAP in all seven districts of a plan, we used what's called an objective function. In other words, a function that sets a goal. And that function credited a point to a plan with a majority-minority district and then took the BVAP in the second district, second highest BVAP, and added it to that. So that, for example, a plan with one district at 52 percent and a second at 47 percent would get a 1.47 score.

Am I making sense so far?

Q As much sense as you will make to me.

A Thanks for saying. I appreciate that.

So -- and then the way the algorithm is what's called a mark-off chain, and it randomly proposes a new district configuration and then flips what you can think of as a weighted coin, and so the probability of acceptance was higher if that score was greater. And in that way, an algorithm like that can be shown -- there's -- my lab has published papers on this topic. An algorithm like that can be shown to do a good

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- job at finding plans that are worthy of consideration in Gingles I direction.
- Q Okay. But you did not run the algorithm without that strong preference for two majority-black districts, then, did you?
  - 6 A I did, in fact.
  - 7 Q Okay. How many maps were generated when you did that?
  - 8 A In fact, I have a publication where I do that in Alabama.
  - 9 And in that paper, we generated 2 million districting plans for
- 14:18:59 10 Alabama, which I think we'll agree is guite a few. And we
  - 11 found some with one majority-black district, but never found a
  - 12 second with a majority-black district in 2 million attempts.
  - 13 But, again, that's without taking race into account in any way
  - 14 | in the generation process.
- Q Okay. So if you programmed into the algorithm traditional
  - 16 districting criteria that did not include race, and you
  - 17 generate 2 million maps, not one of them would have two
  - 18 majority-black districts in it?
- 19 A Well, I have to say that I regard minority opportunity to elect as an important traditional principle. So I don't know
  - 21 of a way to talk about the traditional principles that is truly
  - 22 race blind.
  - 23 Q Would -- I think you -- would you characterize a map,
  - 24 then, that -- assuming for a second that principle of
- 14:20:10 25 | avoiding -- put it as minority vote dilution or creating

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minority opportunity, how would you state the principle? I
want to make sure I'm stating ate as you would.

A Minority opportunity to elect, I have called it, or minority electoral opportunity.

Q Okay. So if we remove that sort of more race focused minority opportunity to elect factor from the process and you run your 2 million maps, if you were to get a map that had two majority-minority districts that was manmade, that would suggest as an extreme outlier, correct, if it was purporting to apply the same traditional race blind districting principles?

A Just -- as someone who uses that term professionally quite a bit, I think that's a misuse of the term.

Q How so?

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A So the term extreme outlier implies a probability distribution in which you're in the tails. If -- I don't understand any way to construct a probability distribution that reflects the traditional principles and is race blind. As I've said, I think it's part and parcel, in fact, of the nonnegotiable federal level principles. And so I don't know of a way to talk about the traditional principles as a package that is race blind.

Q Okay. So you offered no opinion in -- I'm sorry. Please finish if --

A Well, I only was going to say that I don't mean to be resisting the question. I am trying to characterize it in

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language I am comfortable with. 1 2 Yeah. This is helpful. So you don't offer any opinion, then, in this case as to 3 whether you could get -- whether it's possible to draw two 14:22:14 5 majority-minority districts in Alabama that respect traditional districting criteria in a race blind way? 7 It is certainly --8 MR. NAIFEH: Objection. That mischaracterizes what she said. JUDGE MARCUS: Let's finish the question. Before you 14:22:31 10 11 answer, Dr. Duchin, give us a chance. I am not sure I heard 12 the entire question. The objection came in at the tail end of 1.3 the question. Let's ask it crisply and then we will hear the 14 objection. 14:22:48 15 MR. LACOUR: Thank you, Your Honor. 16 BY MR. LACOUR: So Dr. Duchin, you said before that you don't really know 17 18 how to take into account traditional districting criteria 19 without also including that more race focused criteria of 14:23:03 20 ensuring minority representation, correct? 21 I do know how to run algorithms that are race blind, but I 22 don't know how to think of those as answering to the 23 traditional principles. They equally -- just to illustrate, I can also run algorithms that don't equalize populations and let 24

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some districts get ten times as big as others. But then I

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think we've departed from the traditional principles. 2 Okay. So you offer no opinion, then, in this case, 3 though, as to whether it's possible to draw according to all traditional redistricting criteria minus that one -- the race 14:23:48 5 focus criteria of two majority-black districts in the state of Alabama? 6 7 That question I can certainly answer. It is possible, because the world of possibility includes 8 my demonstrative maps, which could be arrived at through a random process. So it is certainly possible. 14:24:07 10 11 Okay. But when you applied a random process in that study 12 you referenced earlier and you drew 2 million maps, not one of 13 them came back looking anything like one of the four 14 illustrative maps, at least when it comes to Black Voting Age Population in two districts? 14:24:30 15 Well, I can't answer whether one of them had a 16 17 majority-black district and a second that was 49.999, in which 18 case it could closely resemble one of the ones that I drew. 19 But I can say that my understanding is that race consciousness 14:24:51 20 is expressly permitted in order to achieve minority electoral opportunity, and in particular, in order to draw majority-black 21 22 districts, stands to reason that one must consider race. And I 23 think the study that I referenced showing that it is hard to draw two majority-black districts by accident shows the 24

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importance of doing so on purpose.

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So -- okay. Sorry. One moment, please. Are you familiar 1 with Dr. Imai -- I'm -- try to say his first name -- I know 3 I'll get it wrong. Dr. Kosuke Imai? THE WITNESS: It's Kosuke and certainly his -- he and 14:25:50 5 I have talked for many years about the development -- or for districting algorithms. 7 BY MR. LACOUR: 8 Okay. He also engages in extreme outlier analysis, correct? 14:26:02 10 He does. 11 MR. NAIFEH: I am going to object. This is outside the scope of direct and outside the scope of her opinions in 12 1.3 this case. 14 JUDGE MARCUS: Are you asking her to comment on Dr. Imai's opinion? 14:26:13 15 16 MR. LACOUR: Your Honor, she said a moment ago that 17 she would reject the --18 JUDGE MARCUS: I'm asking you whether you are asking 19 her to comment about Dr. Imai's opinions. 14:26:23 20 MR. LACOUR: Not to question his opinions, but to see if her -- his opinions might affect her opinion of what is 21 22 possible when it comes to drawing majority-black districts in 23 Alabama. 24 JUDGE MARCUS: You might ask if she is familiar with 14:26:44 25 his opinion in this case.

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BY MR. LACOUR: 1 2 Dr. Duchin, you are familiar with Dr. Imai's opinions in this case? 3 Absolutely not. In fact, I only very recently learned that he was a witness in this case at all. 14:26:54 5 Okay. Would it surprise you if I told you that he drew 6 7 30,000 sample maps? MR. NAIFEH: Objection. 8 9 JUDGE MARCUS: Let him finish the question, Mr. Naifeh. Please. 14:27:14 10 11 BY MR. LACOUR: 12 Would it surprise you if I told you that he ran an 1.3 algorithm that produced 30,000 sample congressional maps in the 14 state that adhered to certain traditional districting criteria, including incumbency which I know your maps did not, and that 14:27:31 15 16 of the 30,000 maps, not one of them came back with two 17 majority-black districts? 18 JUDGE MARCUS: The objection is sustained. 19 MR. LACOUR: Okay. Let me just have one moment to 14:27:57 20 confer with my colleagues. 21 JUDGE MARCUS: Sure. Take your time. 22 (Mr. LaCour confers with co-counsel.) 23 BY MR. LACOUR: 24 Two quick final questions, and then I can let you go. 14:28:24 25 So if you were to learn that Alabama split Mobile County Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

and State Board of Education plan in order to comply with 2 Section 5 would that affect how instructive the State Board of 3 Education plan's current construction might be in how you were -- design draw your second majority-black district for 14:28:48 5 Congress? I think it would not affect my feeling that it's quite 6 7 informative, and if I could expand on that, I would say that would be the exact kind of decision juncture that would be most informative for me. That is if in order to increase the black population in the district, they found themselves with a choice 14:29:11 10 11 to make about what to split, their choice about how to do that would then be helpful for me in understanding something about 12 1.3 their priorities. 14 Okay. Then -- all right. I think that is all I have got. 14:29:36 15 Thank you for your patience and for your time today. 16 Thank you so much. 17 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Thank you. You have some 18 redirect, counsel? How long would that be? Because I wanted 19 to -- we have gone about an hour and a half and I want to make 14:29:48 20 sure I give our court reporter a break. MR. NAIFEH: I think now is -- we do have some 21 22 redirect. I think now is a good time for a break and it should 23 be very --24 JUDGE MARCUS: Give me some reference rough sense of 14:30:00 25 timing on redirect.

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MR. NAIFEH: I think 20 minutes. 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: And then the next witness for the 3 plaintiffs will be? MR. NAIFEH: Dr. Palmer for the Caster plaintiffs. 14:30:13 5 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Thank you. We will take a 6 15-minute break. That will take you to about a quarter to 3:00 7 Central Standard Time, a quarter to 4:00 Eastern Time. Thank you. 8 9 (Recess.) JUDGE MARCUS: I think we are all assembled. I wanted 14:45:43 10 to make sure Judge Manasco, Judge Moorer, ready to proceed? 11 12 JUDGE MOORER: I am. JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you both. Mr. LaCour, 13 Mr. Naifeh, are you ready to proceed with the balance of the 14 examination of Dr. Duchin? 14:45:59 15 16 MR. NAIFEH: Yes, Your Honor. 17 JUDGE MARCUS: Mr. LaCour, are you ready? 18 MR. LACOUR: Yes, Your Honor. 19 JUDGE MARCUS: You may proceed with your redirect. 14:46:09 20 REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. NAIFEH: 21 22 Dr. Duchin, Mr. Ang, can you bring up Milligan Exhibit 28? 23 I want to refer you back to the redistricting guidelines from the reapportionment committee. Is it your understanding that 24 14:46:29 25 these guidelines cover the State Board of Education?

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- A Yes. That's definitely my understanding.
- $Q \quad And \quad I \quad refer \quad you \quad to \quad paragraph \quad C.$

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- A Thank you. That is made explicit there in paragraph C.
- Q Okay. And do the redistricting principles prioritize compliance with the Voting Rights Act in your understanding?
- A Yes. I see it mentioned here on the first page. In Section F.
- 8 Q And, in fact, that comes right after one person one vote,
  9 isn't that correct?
  - A That's right. As I characterized it, earlier I think population balance and minority opportunity to elect/equal protection are the only criteria that are discussed on the first page.
  - Q And Mr. Ang, can you go to the next page?
  - In looking at paragraph j(iii) at the bottom of the page, does the redistricting guidelines distinguish what counts as a community of interest for purposes of the board of education plan as opposed to any other type of plan the committee right be drawing?
  - A They do not. And my reading is that they apply verbatim and with equal force to congressional plans and to the State Board of Education.
  - MR. NAIFEH: Thank you, Mr. Ang. And could you next pull up Caster Exhibit 1 page 19? And this is an exhibit in the Caster case. I am happy to move it into evidence in this

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case if the Court thinks it's necessary. 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: I think it has already been received. 3 I may be mistaken about that. BY MR. NAIFEH: 14:48:31 5 I just really want to use it as a demonstrative. JUDGE MARCUS: Why don't you mark it as Plaintiffs' 6 7 Exhibit -- Plaintiff Milligan Exhibit 1 for identification. MR. NAIFEH: And I -- thank you. Plaintiffs' --8 marked as Plaintiffs' Exhibit 1 for purposes of identification. 14:48:50 10 And Mr. Ang, can you zoom in on the map? 11 BY MR. NAIFEH: 12 And this is the State Board of Education map, I believe, 1.3 Mr. LaCour showed you this a moment ago or a version of this. 14 In this plan is Jefferson County split? Yes. I can see that Jefferson County is split and if I'm 14:49:13 15 16 reading the colors correctly, it touches three districts. 17 Thank you, Mr. Ang. 18 MR. LACOUR: For the record, I showed a different version of the map -- sorry to interject -- but I believe I 19 14:49:32 20 showed the 2001 version. This I believe is the 2021. JUDGE MARCUS: Yes, I think that's right. Just so 21 22 that we're clear, this is the '21 version adopted by the state 23 Legislature for the BOE. 24 MR. NAIFEH: Yes, Your Honor, that is what this. 14:49:50 25 JUDGE MARCUS: All right.

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MR. NAIFEH: Apologize. 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: I just want to make sure we are zeroing 3 in on the right map at the right time. MR. NAIFEH: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Ang. You can 14:50:04 5 take it down. BY MR. NAIFEH: 7 Mr. LaCour asked you about communities of interest and which ones you considered. You mentioned the Black Belt and in the course of urban areas. Did you also consider counties and municipalities to be communities of interest in some cases? 14:50:21 10 11 Yes. It's fair to say -- well, certainly they're called 12 out as such in the guidelines. But it's fair to say that I was 1.3 also considering those under separate cover as the conforming to political boundaries. And so in a way they get double 14 billing, both as communities of interest and as political 14:50:48 15 16 boundaries. Okay. And Mr. LaCour asked you about avoiding incumbent 17 18 pairings and you testified that, one, that you believed it was 19 possible to create a plan with two majority-minority districts 14:51:09 20 that did not pair any incumbents, but at the cost of certain other redistricting principles. Is that -- am I stating that 21 22 accurately? 23 Yes, exactly. And you could draw a plan that avoided any incumbent 24

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pairings and still contain two majority-minority districts

14:51:23 25

without sacrificing the principle of contiguity, isn't that 2 right? 3 That's correct. I should have specified. Okay. And Mr. LaCour also asked you about the preserving 14:51:44 5 the cores of prior districts, and he specifically asked you about whether an 80 percent core retention threshold could be met. Are you aware of any threshold in the redistricting guidelines about the extent to which cores should be preserved in creating a new plan in Alabama? First, just to correct the record, I think I was asked 14:52:03 10 11 whether an 80 percent threshold could be sought. I don't think I was asked whether it could be met, just to be perfectly 12 1.3 clear. Either way, I have seen nothing of the kind in the law 14 or in the redistricting guidelines. 14:52:21 15 And are you aware of any such threshold in any other as a 16 redistricting principle in any other source? 17 No. Of the numerous states and localities that I have 18 worked in, I have never seen a prescribed percentage for core 19 retention. 14:52:39 20 Thank you, Dr. Duchin. And that's all of the redirect that I have. 21 22 JUDGE MARCUS: Mr. LaCour, anything further for 23 Dr. Duchin? 24 MR. LACOUR: Yes. I will keep it very brief. 14:52:54 25 RECROSS-EXAMINATION

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BY MR. LACOUR:

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Q So talking about the thresholds and there's no threshold number in the guidelines, correct, when it comes to core retention?

A I strongly think no. We could pull it up, but I'm confident that there is no --

You are correct about that, I believe, but --

Now, when you were talking about compactness scores and where you were making sure your CDs 1 and 2 came in, you said that you looked at some of the least compact in terms of the enacted map as maybe not as a safe harbor, but at least as some guide for where you were pegging your scores for CDs 1 and 2, correct?

A I think the right way to say it would be since as I mentioned every state has a different state geography, I did look at those minimum scores in the state's plan to get an idea of what might be called reasonable compactness in an Alabama context.

Q Did you consider looking at the lowest core retention score of any of Alabama's districts to get a sense of what might reasonably be considered to be core retention?

A I did not because, as I said, I judged that even the minimum, you know, if -- any statistic connected to core retention in the state's enacted plan that I would not be able to achieve corresponding statistics while creating a second

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majority-black district. 2 Okay. And you don't know whether State Board of Education 3 plan -- let me rephrase that. You don't know whether the current 2021 State Board of 14:54:46 5 Education plan's District 5 was drawn to include a community of interest or rather to meet some other objective like preserving the core of existing districts, do you? 8 I think we've established and I'm happy to repeat that I don't know anything directly about any of the process or conditions under which the plan was drawn. 14:55:08 10 11 Okay. 12 MR. LACOUR: That's all I have got. JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Thank you again. Any 13 re-redirect? 14 14:55:18 15 MR. NAIFEH: No, Your Honor. JUDGE MARCUS: Any questions, Judge Manasco or Judge 16 17 Moorer? 18 JUDGE MANASCO: None from me. 19 JUDGE MOORER: None from me. 14:55:30 20 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Thank you, Dr. Duchin. And 21 you are excused. 22 And you may proceed with your next witness. I take it 23 this will be someone that you're putting on, Ms. Khanna, for 24 Caster? 14:55:48 25 MS. KHANNA: Caster plaintiffs are putting on the next Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

witness, Dr. Palmer, and I will defer to my colleague Lali
Madduri for that. I think there is one -- just scheduling
matter we wanted to raise, Mr. Ross, with Mr. Ross on the rest
of the afternoon before we get there.

JUDGE MARCUS: Sure.

MR. ROSS: Yes, Your Honor. Sorry. Your Honor, the plaintiffs — Caster and Milligan plaintiffs would like to put on Mr. Bryan after Dr. Palmer finishes with the understanding that, you know, Mr. Bryan will take most of a day. We just wanted to make sure that we had as much time as possible with him. Dr. Liu is available tomorrow and Monday. And so we just — given the time it took to finish the — Dr. Duchin's testimony we think it's better to try to put Mr. Bryan on now.

JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. So you don't want to call Palmer now, you want to give -- who is calling Bryan?

MR. ROSS: I'm sorry. Judge Marcus, just to be clear, we would like to call Dr. Palmer now because we believe it will be short, but we would like Mr. Bryan to go on afterwards.

JUDGE MARCUS: Does that work for the State?

MR. DAVIS: Whatever. We're ready for Dr. Liu which was what was represented would go first next. We are set up for that. If that's a problem for plaintiffs, we will do it -- I frankly think it unlikely we would finish two more experts today before Mr. Bryan anyway, so yeah, that's whatever.

JUDGE MARCUS: I think what he is simply asking is he

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wants to make sure you have enough time with Mr. Bryan. 1 2 MR. DAVIS: I appreciate that. 3 JUDGE MARCUS: You have got the whole day tomorrow. We have set that for you. 14:57:35 5 MR. DAVIS: Yeah. Right. We are going to have enough 6 time whether Dr. Liu goes next or whether Mr. Bryan goes next. 7 I don't see the big deal, but we can change the order if we need to. 8 9 JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. So if I have this right, 14:57:45 10 Mr. Ross, you want to put on Palmer first, finish with Palmer, 11 and then turn to Bryan. Do I have that right? 12 MR. ROSS: Yes, Your Honor. JUDGE MARCUS: And Bryan would be called in 13 Mr. Davis's case in chief, rather than by you as a hostile 14 witness. Do I have that right? 14:58:01 15 16 MR. ROSS: Yes, Your Honor. Yes, Your Honor. 17 JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. So let's proceed with 18 Dr. Palmer. And then we will see how much time we have left, 19 Mr. Davis, to proceed accordingly. 14:58:14 20 Dr. Palmer, would you raise your right hand please. 21 MAXWELL PALMER, 22 having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as 23 follows: 24 JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you. If you would be kind enough 14:58:27 25 to state your name for the record.

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THE WITNESS: Maxwell Palmer. 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you. And counsel, you may 3 proceed with your direct examination. DIRECT EXAMINATION 14:58:40 5 BY MS. MADDURI: Thank you, Your Honor. Good afternoon, Dr. Palmer. 6 7 Good afternoon. You've been retained as an expert for the Caster 8 plaintiffs in this case; is that correct? 14:58:51 10 Yes. 11 And you have prepared one expert report? 12 Α Yes. 13 Let's briefly pull that up. It's Plaintiffs' -- Caster Plaintiffs' Exhibit 79. 14 Dr. Palmer, can you identify this document as your report? 14:59:07 15 16 Yes. This is my report for this case. 17 Okay. And we can pull it down. 18 Do you have a copy of your report with you? 19 I do. Α 14:59:20 20 Is your CV included in your report? 21 Α Yes. 22 And is your CV a complete and accurate summary of your 23 background and professional experience? It is. 24 Α I will briefly ask you a few questions about your 14:59:33 25 Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR Federal Official Court Reporter

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background and expertise. Can you first summarize your 2 educational background? 3 I received my bachelor's degree in mathematics and government and legal studies from Bowdoin College in Maine, and 14:59:52 5 my Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University. Where are you currently employed? 6 7 I'm currently an associate professor of political science at Boston University. Are you tenured? 15:00:05 10 Yes. 11 Q What classes do you teach? I teach courses on American politics and political 12 methodology, including introduction to American politics, 13 14 Congress, American political institutions, data science, and formal theory. 15:00:22 15 And what are your principle areas of research? 16 17 My research mostly focuses on American political 18 institutions, Congress, redistricting, and local and urban 19 politics. 15:00:37 20 Have you been accepted as an expert witness in cases involving redistricting before? 21 22 Α Yes. 23 Have you ever been rejected as an expert by any court? 24 Α No. 15:00:49 25 Is the list of cases in which you have served as an expert

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1	included in your report on pages 1 and 2?
2	A Yes.
3	Q And in approximately how many of those cases have you
4	provided a racially polarized voting analysis?
15:01:09 5	A In several of them, including Bethune Hill vs. Virginia,
6	Thomas v. Bryant, Chestnut v. Merrill, Dwight v. Raffensperger,
7	Bruni v. Hughs, Texas Alliance for Retired Americans v. Hughs.
8	I believe that's all of them.
9	Q Have courts previously credited and relied on your
15:01:30 10	analyses?
11	A Yes.
12	Q And I think you listed this case, but just to confirm.
13	Have you previously served as an expert in the state of
14	Alabama?
15:01:40 15	A Yes. In Chestnut v. Merrill.
16	Q Did the Court accept you as an expert in that case?
17	A Yes.
18	Q And what kind of analysis did you conduct there?
19	A I performed racially polarized voting analyses for parts
15:01:57 20	of Alabama, as well as analyzed the performance of some
21	illustrative maps in that case.
22	MS. MADDURI: Your Honor, at this time Caster
23	plaintiffs would like to proffer Dr. Palmer as an expert in
24	redistricting and data analysis.
15:02:15 25	JUDGE MARCUS: Redistricting and data analysis. Do I

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have that right? 1 2 MS. MADDURI: Yes, Your Honor. 3 JUDGE MARCUS: Is there any challenge or need to voir dire, Mr. Wilson? 15:02:28 5 MR. WILSON: There is not, Your Honor. JUDGE MARCUS: All right. We will qualify and receive 6 7 Dr. Palmer as an expert in redistricting and in data analysis. 8 Thank you. You may proceed. 9 MS. MADDURI: Thank you, Your Honor. BY MS. MADDURI: 15:02:41 10 11 Dr. Palmer, let's now discuss the work that you performed 12 in this case. 1.3 First, what were you asked to do? 14 I was asked to offer an expert opinion on the extent to which voting is racially polarized in parts of Alabama, and I 15:02:53 15 16 was also asked to analyze the performance of the 17 majority-minority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative 18 maps. 19 At a high level, what did you conclude with regard to 15:03:09 20 whether there is racially polarized voting in the areas of Alabama that you examined? 21 22 I find very strong evidence of racially polarized voting 23 across the focus area which I defined to be the first, second, third, sixth and seventh congressional districts under the 24 15:03:27 25 newly enacted map. I find that black and white voters

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consistently support different candidates.

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I also find that voting -- strong evidence of racially polarized voting within each of those five individual congressional districts, as well.

Q Okay. After determining that there are high levels of racially polarized voting in the areas you studied, what did you conclude about whether black voters' preferred candidates are able to win elections in those areas?

A I found that black preferred candidates are generally unable to win elections in the focus area and in four of the five congressional districts.

Q Okay. And we'll discuss that all in detail first.

What did you at a high level conclude about the performance of plaintiffs' demonstrative majority-minority districts in the Caster plaintiffs' illustrative plans?

A I find that black preferred candidates are able to win elections in both of the majority-minority districts in all the maps I analyzed.

Q Okay. Let's begin now and start with the racially polarized voting analysis.

First, what is racially polarized voting as you understand it?

A Racially polarized voting is when voters of different racial or ethnic groups prefer different candidates.

Q Is there -- is it always the case that each racial group

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you examine has a preferred candidate?

A No. Sometimes a group is split between two or more candidates and it is not some clear preferred candidate for that group.

Q In past cases, have you conducted a racially polarized voting analysis and found that there was no racially polarized voting?

A Yes. For example, in *Bethune Hill vs. Virginia*, I looked at racially polarized voting across about a dozen districts for the House of Delegates there. And I found in some districts there was racially polarized voting and in others districts there was not.

Q Okay. At a high level, how do you go about examining racially polarized voting?

A So I use an analytical approach called ecological inference, which seeks to estimate the percentage of voters from each racial or ethnic group that I look at that votes for each candidate for each election that I study.

And what this ultimately yields is an estimate for each ethnic group or racial group supporting each candidate. And then I can look to see if large majorities of the members of those groups are supporting the same candidate or not. For example, we might find that 80 or 90 percent of the voters of a group are also voting the same candidate, in which case I can identify a candidate of choice for that group. Or you might

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find that that group is roughly split between two candidates, say 40, 50 percent for each candidate and then there's not a clear candidate of choice for that group.

And so I first do that for each group that I analyze and then I look to see if the voters are -- of each group have the same candidate of choice, assuming they have one or when they have one, or if they have different candidates of choice. When I find that each group has a candidate of choice and they are different, that's evidence of racially polarized voting.

- Q Okay. And I think you listed these already, but what were the geographic areas of Alabama that you examined for your analysis?
- A I defined the focus area as the first, second, third sixth, and seventh congressional districts under the newly enacted map. And I analyzed that focus area as a whole and each of those individual districts.
- Q What is the reasoning behind the districts that form what you refer to as the focus area?
- A I define that set of districts as a focus area because that was where I was told the new majority-minority districts under the illustrative maps would be drawn from.
- Q And what elections did you examine in the course of your analysis?
- 24 A I looked at statewide general elections from 2012 through 25 2020, as well as the special election for U.S. Senate in 2017.

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Q Did you also look at some elections from 2012 and 2014?

A Right. Yes, that's right. I looked at 2012 and 2014 elections, as well.

Q Okay. And you mentioned ecological inference as part of your racially polarized voting analysis. If I refer to that as EI, will you understand what I mean?

A Yes.

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Q Okay. So what is EI?

A So EI is a technique to estimate voting patterns from aggregate data. And the challenge that we have is that because of the secret ballot we don't get to see how any individual votes. We only get to see aggregate data, by which I mean that at the individual county or precinct level we can see the total votes cast for each candidate at some unit of geography and we can also see how many voters there are in that area by race or how many people live in that area by race, as well, using either the voter file or different types of census data.

So we don't get the individual level data, just the aggregate. And what ecological inference does is it's an algorithm that tries to estimate the percentages of each group supporting each candidate by looking at patterns across many different counties or precincts.

Q Would you say that EI is the best available method for assessing racially polarized voting?

A Yes. There's a few different methods. My understanding

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is that ecological inference is the one currently preferred by 2 courts. 3 Okay. So it's your understanding that courts regularly rely on EI analyses to determine whether there is racially 15:09:49 5 polarized voting in a particular geographic area? 6 Yes. 7 Is EI also regularly used by scholars and experts to examine racially polarized voting? Yes, it's widely used. What kind of results does an ecological inference analysis 15:10:05 10 11 produce? The ultimate results that I present in my report are 12 1.3 estimates for each election and just to be clear, we do the 14 same ecological inference analysis separately for every election and geography that I analyze so it's many different 15:10:26 15 runs of this model. And for each one, we get an estimate for 16 17 each group of the percent of that group voting for each 18 candidate, as well as a confidence interval, a measure of uncertainty about the estimate. 19 15:10:45 20 Okay. And what are the groups that you examined here? 21 I look at three demographic groups. Non-Hispanic black, 22 non-Hispanic white and then others, which include Hispanic,

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Roughly what percentage of voters fall into that other

Asian, Native Americans and everybody else.

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category?

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- A I think about 5 percent or a little less.
- Q Okay. And you performed at three different racially
- 3 polarized voting analyses in your report, right?
  - A Yes.

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- 15:11:18 5 Q What were they?
  - 6 A I -- -- I looked at precinct level election data for 2016,
  - 7 117, '18, and '20 using precinct level election results and
  - 8 Citizen Voting Age Population data to measure demographics from
  - 9 the U.S. Census Bureau.
- I then do a second analysis just for 2020, where I have
  - 11 some data on voter turnout by race. And then for 2012 and 2014
  - 12 I didn't have precinct level data available, and so I do a
  - 13 county level analysis there, using county level election
  - 14 results and county level data on voter registration by race
- 15:12:01 15 provided by the state.
  - 16 Q And are the results of your three analyses consistent with
  - 17 each other?
  - 18 A Yes. Across every election and all three analyses I find
  - 19 strong evidence of racially polarized voting.
- 15:12:17 20 Q Okay. Let's first discuss that first precinct analysis
  - 21 that you described for 2016 to 2020.
  - 22 Overall, what did you find for that analysis?
  - 23 A So I find strong levels of racially polarized voting in
  - 24 the focus area as a whole across all 12 elections from 2012 to
- 15:12:48 25 2020 that I look at. I find there's a clear black preferred

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candidate in every election. I find that white voters also have a clear candidate of choice, which is the opponent of the black preferred candidate in each election.

On average I find that black voters support their candidate of choice, about 92 percent of the vote. And that white voters strongly oppose this candidate, only about 15 percent of white voters support the black candidate of choice in each election.

Q Okay. Let's now turn to -- turn to your report and look at that analysis.

So let's call up Caster Plaintiffs' Exhibit 79, which is your report. And we will turn to Figure 3 on page 6.

Dr. Palmer, what is does this figure show?

A This figure presents the results of the racially polarized voting analysis using counties and Citizen Voting Age Population data for the focus area.

So each row of the figure represents a different election as labeled on the left. And then there's three key pieces of information to take from each election on this thing.

First, if you look at the solid blue dot on the right, that represents the average -- the estimated percent of black voters voting for the black preferred candidate. And we see there it's relatively high, generally in the low 90 percent range.

Behind each dot there's some little horizontal and

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vertical lines and those represent the balance of the confidence interval showing relatively precise estimates here.

Then on the left-hand side we see the open circles which represent the percent of white voters voting for the black preferred candidate, again with confidence intervals behind them. We see very low levels of support for the black preferred candidate, generally in the teens.

And so that shows us the cohesion within each group, a clear black preferred candidate and then a clear white preferred candidate in opposition to that black one. And then the distance between them shows that high degree of polarization.

Q I want to clarify one thing. I think you said that you used county level data for this analysis, but I believe it's precinct level analysis; is that right?

A I apologize. I have misspoke. This is all precinct-level data.

O Thanks.

And so just -- and in sum, what does Figure 3 tell us about racially-polarized voting in these elections?

A It shows that voting is highly polarized between black and white voters and that this pattern is consistent across every election that I analyze.

Q Is there a part containing the precise numbers for the election particularly within Figure 3?

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24 15:15:52 25 A Yes. It's all located in Table 2 of my report.

Q Okay. Let's turn to Table 2, which is on page 12 of your report. And we are still on Caster plaintiffs' Exhibit 79.

This table is entitled ecological inference results -estimated voted share of black preferred candidates -- precinct
level election data with Citizens Voting Age Population -focus area.

What does this table show?

A This table shows the results that I plotted that I graphed in the figure that we just looked at. These are the numbers that come out of the ecological inference analysis. And so, again, each row is a separate election that I analyze, and then we have three sets of numbers; first, for black voters, then white voters, and then for the other category.

And within each set of numbers, you will see first a percentage, and that's the estimate, the percent of that group voting for the black preferred candidate. And then in parenthesis after that are the upper level bounds, the range of the confidence interval. So that represents the -- the horizontal line that I plotted behind each figure we just looked at.

So just as one example in the 2016 election for U.S.

President, I estimate that 90.8 percent of black voters voted

for the black preferred candidate with a confidence interval of
that estimate ranging from 89.5 too 92.1 percent. And then for

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white voters in that same election, I estimate that 2 10.3 percent of white voters voted for the black preferred with 3 a confidence interval of 9.5 to 11.12 percent. Did you run the same racially-polarized voting analysis on 15:17:45 5 a district-by-district basis? I did. 6 7 JUDGE MARCUS: That's our court reporter, Mr. Palmer. Take your time. We want to make sure our court reporter gets it all accurately, and go slowly. Thanks very much. THE WITNESS: Thank you. 15:18:03 10 11 BY MS. MADDURI: 12 So what were the results of your analysis on a 1.3 district-by-district basis? 14 I find the same results at the individual district level, a strong pattern of racially-polarized voting across every 15:18:23 15 election in every district. 16 17 Okay. Let's turn to Figure 5 on page 8 of your report, 18 which is, again, Plaintiffs' Exhibit 79. 19 This figure is entitled racially-polarized voting 15:18:42 20 estimates by race -- congressional districts. What does this figure show? 21 22 This figure shows the results of my analysis in a slightly 23 different way. I don't label each individual election here just because I can't fit all the labels. But each point, each 24 15:19:01 25 separate dot corresponds to one of the 12 estimates for each of

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the elections that I look at.

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The dark blue dot across the top represents the percentage of black voters voting for the black preferred candidate. And what this shows is that across all five congressional districts, there's a clear black-preferred candidate in every election getting well more than 80 percent of the vote in each contest. And then the open circles along the bottom shows a percentage of white voters voting for the black-preferred candidate and showing that those levels of support are generally very low, in some places, less than 10 percent, in others, ranging into the 30 percent range. And what we see is polarization in every single election across all five congressional districts.

- Q Does your report contain the precise numbers in this figure?
- A Yes. These are -- there's a separate table for each congressional district. Table 4 through Table 8.
- Q Okay. And what conclusions did you draw based on your 2016 to 2020 precinct analysis?
- A I find strong evidence of racially-polarized voting in the focus area as a whole and in each of the five congressional districts.
- Q Okay. Let's next talk about your second precinct level analysis for 2020. Why did you conduct that analysis?
- 15:20:39 25 A I really did it as a check using a different data source

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on my previous analysis. So the precinct level analysis I just discussed used Citizen Voting Age Population data for each precinct.

And an alternate data source would be to use the voter file, which in Alabama includes the race of each individual voter and look at the number of actual voters by race who turned out to vote.

I did not have the full voter file available to me as of the election date, but the Redistricting Data Hub, which is a public website that publishes a lot of useful data for redistricting analyses put out data on precinct level voter turnout by race from L2, which is a commercial data vendor. And so I was able to do a second analysis this way, and the advantage here is I don't have to account for turnout. I'm only looking at actual voter and not the whole precinct population or Citizen Voting Age Population.

A I found very similar results with the exact same conclusions, strong evidence of racially-polarized voting. And just be clear, I was only able to do this for the 2020 elections. I didn't have that data for previous elections. But in these two elections where I was able to do that analysis, I find strong evidence of racially-polarized voting in the focus area and in each of the five congressional

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districts.

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Are the exact details of that analysis contained in Table 1 2 9 of your report? 3 Yes. And at a high level to confirm, is the methodology that you described that you used for the 2016 to 2020 precinct level 15:22:42 5 analysis the same methodology you used for the second 2020 only 7 analysis? Yes. I still use ecological inference. It's all still set up the same way, produces the same kind of results. It's just different data on the population within each precinct. 15:23:00 10 11 Let's now turn to your county level analysis. And why did 12 you do this? Why did you do this analysis? 1.3 I wanted to look at a longer range of elections, but I did 14 not have precinct level data available for 2012 or 2014. Okay. And you -- for the county level analysis, you 15:23:25 15 16 examined only the focus area as a whole and not each individual 17 congressional district; is that right? 18 Yes. There aren't enough units. There aren't enough 19 counties within each congressional district alone to do that 15:23:42 20 analysis. Okay. Let's turn to Figure 4 on page 7 of your report, 21 22 which is Caster Plaintiffs' Exhibit 79. 23 What does this figure show? This figure shows the results of the county level 24

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analysis. And it's exactly like Figure 2. Each row is an

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election. The dark blue dots on the right show the percentage 2 of black voters voting for the black-preferred candidate, and 3 the open circle on the left show the percentage of white voters voting for the black-preferred candidate. One thing you can 15:24:23 5 notice here is that the confidence interval, those horizontal lines behind each point are significantly wider because they 7 have much less data at the county level to work with than the precinct level to work with. However, the conclusions are the same. There is a clear black-preferred candidate in every election, and white voters are strongly opposed to that 15:24:41 10 11 black-preferred candidate because there's a high level of 12 racially-polarized voting in every election here. 13 Okay. And just to confirm, at a high level of the 14 methodology that you previously described for the 2016 to 2020 precinct-level analysis, the same methodology that you used for 15:25:01 15 the county-level analysis? 16 17 Yes. Α 18 And does your report contain the precise numbers that are 19 depicted in Figure 4? 15:25:18 20 Yes. It's all in Table 3. Okay. And to just close this county-level analysis off, 21 22 are the results consistent with your two precinct-level 23 analyses? 24 They are. Across all three analyses, I find strong 15:25:39 25 evidence of racially-polarized voting.

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Okay. First, we can take down the figure. Thanks. 1 2 After you determined that the analyzed elections 3 demonstrated the racially-polarized voting, what did you do next? 15:25:57 5 I next looked at each election within the focus area and within each of the congressional districts to determine if the 6 7 black-preferred candidate were able to win those elections. Is this part of the analysis commonly referred to as 8 Gingles III? 15:26:16 10 Yes. 11 Okay. How do you conduct this part of your analysis? 12 I look at the boundaries for the focus area for the 1.3 districts and look at all the precincts that fall within those 14 boundaries to identify the past election results that would have occurred sort of within those boundaries, and I add up 15:26:39 15 16 those past election results. I aggregate them up to the level 17 of the district or focus area. So I am just using past 18 election results and adding up the number of votes within each 19 area. 15:26:53 20 Okay. Let's turn to Table 1 on page 12 of your report, which is Exhibit 79. The table is entitled, Election Results 21 22 in the Focus Area -- Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates. 23 What does this table show? This shows the results of this analysis. Each number in 24 15:27:16 25 the table corresponds to the vote share of the black-preferred

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candidate in each election within each of the geographies listed across the top of the table. And this is of the two-party vote. So the other candidate would get 100 minus each of these numbers.

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So, for example, in 2016, U.S. President, the black-preferred candidate received 39.5 percent of the vote in the focus area.

And then the numbers to the right show the percentage the black-preferred candidate received in each of the congressional districts.

- Q Okay. And just to be clear, when you mention the vote share and the focus area, these are not actual vote shares statewide that the candidates received in these elections, right?
- 15:28:02 15 A No. These are not the statewide vote shares. They're the vote shares within these particular geographies.
  - Q Okay. And what did you find about whether black voters were able to elect their preferred candidates in the focus area as a whole?
  - A Black voters are generally not able to elect their preferred candidates in the focus area across these 12 elections. The black-preferred candidate won only one.
  - 23 Q And what election did the black voters preferred candidate win?
- 15:28:34 25  $\parallel$  A The 2017 special election for U.S. Senate.

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- Q And who were the candidates in that election?
- 2 A The black-preferred candidate was Doug Jones. And the 3 white-preferred candidate was Roy Moore.
  - Q What, if anything, do you know about Roy Moore?
- A My understanding is that Roy Moore is a uniquely controversial figure in Alabama politics, that he was elected to the state Supreme Court, I believe twice, and then ran a very controversial campaign in 2017 for U.S. Senate where he
- Okay. And did the black-preferred candidate win the 2017 election in all of the districts in the focus area?

was accused of sexual misconduct.

- A No. The black-preferred candidate in that election lost in the First, Second, Third, and Sixth Congressional Districts.

  And only won in the Seventh Congressional District.
  - Q Okay. What about for the other 11 elections? How did the black-preferred candidate perform in each individual district?
- 17 A In the First, Second, Third, and Sixth Districts, the 18 black-preferred candidate lost all 12 elections.
  - And in the Seventh Congressional District, the black-preferred candidate won all 12 elections.
- 21 Q Is it your understanding that Congressional District 7 is 22 a majority-black district?
- 23 A Yes.

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24 Q Is it also your understanding that the other districts 1, 15:30:09 25 2, 3, and 6 in the focus area are majority-white districts?

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Q And we can take down the figure.

Did you also examine which group's preferred candidate won in the eight elections that you analyzed for 2012 and 2014?

- A I did. Across the eight elections that I analyzed at the county level, and I could only look at this for the focus area, the black-preferred candidate won only once.
- Q Okay. And what can you tell us about the election where the black-preferred candidate was able to win?
- A The black-preferred candidate was only able to win the 2012 election for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, where the white-preferred candidate was again Roy Moore.
- Q What are your overall conclusions regarding whether black-preferred candidates are able to win elections in the focus area?
- A Black-preferred candidates are largely unable to win elections in the focus area with the exception of the Seventh Congressional District.
- Q Okay. Earlier we briefly discussed your testimony in Chestnut v. Merrill in 2019. And I think you already confirmed this, but in that case, you also examined racially-polarized voting; is that right?
- 23 A Yes.
- Q Okay. Did you also look at some congressional elections
  15:31:39 25 in that case?

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A I did.

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- 2 Q Which ones?
- A I believe I looked at the 2018 congressional elections in the district, which were the old districts, you know, in use at
- 15:31:55 5 the time for that case.
  - 6 Q And would that have been for Congressional Districts 1, 2,
  - 7 and 3 that existed as they were in 2018?
  - 8 A Yes.
- 9 Q What were the results of your racially-polarized voting for those elections?
  - 11 A I found that in those congressional elections voting was
  - 12 | highly polarized.
  - 13 Q Okay. And were the findings largely consistent with your
  - 14 | findings here?
- 15:32:19 15 A Yes.
  - 16 Q And I think you confirmed that you found that the voting
  - 17 was racially polarized. Did you find that the black-preferred
  - 18 candidate was defeated in the elections that you looked at?
  - 19 A In the First, Second, and Third Districts, yes.
- 15:32:34 20 Q Okay. Let's just briefly pull out Plaintiffs' Exhibit 83.
  - 21 Do you recognize this document?
  - 22 A Yes. This is my expert report from Chestnut v. Merrill.
  - 23 Q Okay. Thank you.
- Let's now turn to your analysis of the functionality of
  the majority-minority districts in six of the Caster

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Plaintiffs' illustrative maps. What did your functionality 1 2 analysis examine? 3 I looked at the two majority-minority districts, which are always Districts Number 2 and Number 7 and the performance of 15:33:18 5 the black-preferred candidate in those districts under those 6 six maps. 7 How did you perform this analysis? I do this in the same way I do the performance analysis or 8 the ability-to-win analysis that we just discussed. I identify the precinct that fall into each of these new districts or into 15:33:33 10 11 these illustrative districts and aggregate the election results up to the district level and look at which candidate received 12 1.3 the most votes or calculate the percent of the votes received 14 by each candidate. And what you are your findings about whether 15:33:49 15 black-preferred candidates would be able to win in Plaintiffs' 16 17 illustrative majority-black districts? 18 I find that across the six maps I analyzed, 19 black-preferred candidates are able to win every election in 15:34:05 20 both the Second and Seventh Congressional District looking at the same 12 elections from 2016 to 2020 that we have already 21 22 looked at. 23 Okay. Let's turn to Figure 7 of your report. This is page 11 of Exhibit 79. The table is entitled 24

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Election Results in the Focus Area Vote Shares of

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Black-Preferred Candidates.

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What does this figure show?

A This figure shows the results of that analysis. And so each of the six maps is its own separate plot. Each row is a different election. And then the blue dots here correspond to the vote share of the black-preferred candidate in the Second Congressional District, and the open circles correspond to the vote share of the black-preferred candidate in the Seventh Congressional District. And then at the 50 percent point, there's a dark vertical line. And so the fact that each of these points is to the right of that 50 percent line shows that the black-preferred candidate are getting a majority of the vote across every election in both the Second and Seventh Congressional Districts in all six maps.

Q Do you recall on average what percentage of the votes of black-preferred candidate is winning in CD 2 under plaintiffs' illustrative maps?

A I think they -- it's an average of at least 57 percent of the vote and higher in some of the maps.

Q And what's the average for the black-preferred candidate in CD 7?

A At least 65 percent of the vote and, again, higher in some of the maps.

Q Okay, Dr. Palmer, I would now like to briefly discuss with you a different topic. After you submitted your report, an

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expert for the state, Dr. Hood, submitted the report that offers a few criticisms of your analysis, and I would like to ask you about those now.

Have you reviewed Dr. Hood's report that was submitted on December 20th?

A I have.

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Q Okay. Dr. Hood notes that you relied on CVAP population from the census, and states that this introduced a, quote, force of potential error, end quote, into your analysis.

Does Dr. Hood's criticism raise any concerns for you?

11 A No.

12 Q Why not?

A Using Citizen Voting Age Population data, which is forced from the American Community Survey, which is a survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau every year, is very common practice in this field. It's widely used by political scientists, in peer-reviewed published academic work, as well as by expert witnesses. And this is reliable high-quality data.

Q Does Dr. Hood conduct any analyses using that same data?

A I don't recall, and I don't have his report in front of

22 O Okay. That's fine.

Is there any reason to believe that there are systemic errors in the CVAP data that you used that could bias your analysis in any way?

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Q Dr. Hood also criticized your use of data from the Redistricting Data Hub. Specifically, he expresses concerns that the Redistricting Data Hub was, quote, not able to replicate joining election data and precinct boundaries because they did not have precinct boundary data for every election. Does this criticism raise any concerns for you about your

A No.

analysis?

Q Why not?

A So this data, the precinct level data I rely on, I downloaded from the Redistricting Data Hub. And as I mentioned, this is just a public website that aggregates many different sources, or collects and publishes many different sources of relevant redistricting data.

But the actual data that they're using here in which I talk about in my report is assembled by a group called the Voting and Election Science Team, or VEST, which is a group of academics I think based at the University of Florida who do the really hard and difficult work of assembling precinct-level data, matching up shapefiles the geographic boundaries of each precinct with election results. And this is a really time consuming and difficult task. And one of the many things they do is they go to individual states or individual counties and request maps of the precincts that they actually can absolutely

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get the precinct boundaries. And this is challenging and very time consuming.

And so their data is widely used by academics in peer-reviewed published work, and it's highly reliable.

And what the Redistricting Data Hub does and what Dr. Hood comments on is they just look at the data and produce a validation report that says, could we independently on our own reproduce these same numbers? And the answer here is no, because Redistricting Data Hub doesn't have the same shapefiles, those same files that the VEST group got from each county to reproduce that work. They note that in their own validation report. They say in that same report that Dr. Hood cites that this is to be expected, given the way that the data was assembled.

So the Redistricting Data Hub team doesn't have any concerns about this data, and I don't have any concerns about this data.

Q Can you briefly explain the difference between a VTD and a precinct and how that data is merged, which is what I believe you were explaining the VEST team did?

A The VEST team is actually doing something one step earlier. They are collecting precinct boundaries from states and counties and merging that with precinct-level election results produced by individual states and counties after each election.

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And that in itself can be very difficult because the names of the precincts or the way they're identified in the systems that tabulate those are the ways they're reported don't always match up cleanly with the shapefiles that are available.

For example, the state might report a precinct name, but the county may provide a shapefile with ID numbers for each precinct instead. And this is a challenge that I had to handle in Alabama in 20 -- in 2019 in *Chestnut vs. Merrill*, where I assembled some precinct-level data from Alabama precincts and election results myself.

So that's a different challenge.

To answer the other part of your questions, voting tabulation districts are the census equivalent, the U.S. Census equivalent of precinct boundaries. And they're based on data provided to the Census Bureau from each state. And because precincts change over time, voting tabulation districts or VTDs are often a good unit of analysis for redistricting work, because we can look at the election data or demographics over time, looking at a constant geographic unit instead of looking at precincts which might vary in number or location and shape over time within each county or state.

Q Okay. I think Dr. Hood's next criticism is related to what you just described.

So he suggests that there may be mismatches between VTD-shaped files on Redistricting Data Hub and the actual

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precinct boundaries for Alabama counties.

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He specifically points to Washington County as such an error. Does Dr. Hood's criticism give you any cause for concern?

I think this stems from sort of the interchangeable No. use of the term precinct and VTD in my report. So in my report, I discuss precinct-level analyses. But as I note in -on page 3, the data I'm using -- or actually Voting Tabulation District-level data, where the VEST team has taken precinct level data and reallocated it to match the new geographies that correspond to U.S. Census, reaggregate it to voting tabulations district boundaries instead. And so Dr. Hood has in his report two maps: One of VTD and one of precincts. And the source data from the VEST team, the precinct-level data they provide looks exactly like Dr. Hood's maps. Those maps are identical. And then using very standard algorithms and approaches for aggregating data from one geography to another, they then transform that data to Voting Tabulation District data and publish that, as well. So I have both versions of that data. I'm using Voting Tabulation District for simplicity.

And for 2017, where that Voting Tabulation District data was not provided by the Redistricting Data Hub, I assembled that in the same way myself using the exact same code and process that the Redistricting Data Hub used.

Q Finally, Dr. Hood also criticizes your use of data derived

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from a commercial vendor that I think you mentioned called L2. 2 Specifically, he suggests that L2's data contains discrepancies 3 that, quote, could make a difference in a district functionality analysis, end quote. Does Dr. Hood's speculation 15:44:13 5 give you any cause for concern? 6 No. 7 Why not? Because I don't use this data at all in any functionality 8 analysis that I do. My functionality analysis relies entirely on past election results. 15:44:25 10 11 Do any of the criticisms that Dr. Hood makes of your 12 report cause you to doubt or change any of your conclusions? 1.3 Α No. 14 Did Dr. Hood also perform a racially-polarized voting analysis? 15:44:41 15 16 Yes. 17 What methodology did Dr. Hood use as you understand it? 18 Dr. Hood also uses ecological inference. 19 And what geographic areas did Dr. Hood examine? 15:44:56 20 I know he did this for the Seventh Congressional District and I believe for some others, as well, but I am not positive. 21 22 Okay. Where the geographic areas examined overlap between 23 your analysis and Dr. Hood's analysis, how did Dr. Hood's results compare with yours? 24

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A So for the Seventh Congressional District where Dr. Hood

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15:45:17 25

does ecological inference using 2020 presidential election 2 results and 2018 gubernatorial election results, we find the 3 same conclusions. He also finds strong evidence of racially-polarized voting in that district. 15:45:38 5 Okay. MS. MADDURI: Thank you, Dr. Palmer. Those are all 6 7 the questions that I have for you at this time. I will pass the witness to Mr. Wilson. 9 JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you very much. Before we start, Mr. Wilson with your cross, I just want 15:45:53 10 11 to ask if our reporter's doing okay. 12 Mr. Wilson, fire away. MR. WILSON: Thank you, Judge Marcus. And I apologize 13 14 for the confusion. Can I actually ask for a very quick break right now? 15:46:28 15 16 JUDGE MARCUS: You sure can. You sure can. We will 17 take -- how much time do you need? You tell me. 18 MR. WILSON: Shouldn't be more than five minutes or 19 so. JUDGE MARCUS: Let's take a ten-minute break at this 15:46:37 20 point, and we will reconvene with your cross. Quick question: 21 22 What's your timing on the cross because we're somewhere --23 they're debating whether Mr. Bryan will come next or whether their other expert on Gingles II and III will come next. 24

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MR. WILSON: Understood, Your Honor. It's a little

15:46:58 25

1 bit. 2 JUDGE MARCUS: Let me just preface it by saying, 3 again, you take all the time you need to do your cross. MR. WILSON: Thank you, Your Honor. There are some 15:47:10 5 questions that we have that remain about the analysis itself, and that could take a little longer, even though Ms. Madduri 7 did ask a few questions about the analysis, too, so it's difficult to speculate, but I would think hopefully under 45 minutes. JUDGE MARCUS: Let's just -- we will play it by ear. 15:47:36 10 11 You take your time. We will take a ten-minute break at this 12 point. Thanks. 1.3 (Recess.) 14 JUDGE MARCUS: Judge Moorer, are we ready to begin? JUDGE MOORER: Yes, sir, we are. 15:56:47 15 16 JUDGE MARCUS: Thanks so much. Mr. Wilson, you may 17 continue with your cross of Dr. Palmer. 18 CROSS-EXAMINATION 19 BY MR. WILSON: 15:56:57 20 Dr. Palmer, how are you? 21 Good. Thank you. Α 22 Good. Glad to hear it. 23 So now, Dr. Palmer, because we didn't have a chance to do a deposition in this litigation, some of the methodological 24 15:57:12 25 questions that I ask might be very basic, and it's just stuff

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that I'm unfamiliar with. So apologies in advance if I missed 2 an obvious explanation. 3 But I am going to try to understand your report. Is that fair? 15:57:25 5 Yes. 6 And you still have your report in front of you? 7 I do. Thank you. So I will probably refer to that fairly 8 frequently if you wouldn't mind keeping it handy. Now, Dr. Palmer, you have conducted racial-polarization 15:57:40 10 11 analysis in Voting Rights Act litigation before; is that 12 correct? 1.3 Yes. And can you explain when you generally find that 14 racially-polarized voting has occurred? 15:57:53 15 16 Can you be more specific? 17 Sure. Under what conditions do you find 18 racially-polarized voting occurs when you're analyzing different populations or minority groups? 19 15:58:12 20 It entirely depends on the groups I'm looking at and the dynamics of the elections in those places. 21 22 Okay. I think I might be asking a more basic question. 23 apologize. Is it fair to say that racially-polarized voting occurs 24

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when, say, black voters and white voters support different

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candidates? 1 2 Yes. 3 Okay. And is it fair to say, then, your analysis is looking at results? 15:58:43 5 Election results? Yes. Yeah. Yes. Thank you. 6 7 So, in other words, your analysis is not examining why voters are voting the way that they're voting; is that right? That's correct. I do not look at why voters make the choices they do, just the choices that they are making. 15:59:02 10 11 Thank you, Dr. Palmer. 12 And how do you determine whether a racial group supports a 1.3 particular candidate? 14 So first I run the ecological inference algorithm, and I look at the results. And if a large majority of that group is 15:59:22 15 16 supporting the same candidate, then I would say that's the 17 group's candidate of choice. 18 And, Dr. Palmer, when you say a large majority, what do 19 you mean? 15:59:41 20 So there's not an exact cutoff, but generally I think of

A So there's not an exact cutoff, but generally I think of it as, you know, well above 50 percent, and often I look at the confidence interval and would like to see a confidence interval that's also above -- or well below 50 percent, either way, far away from 50 percent. So, for example, if I were to estimate that a group supported a candidate, let's say, 60 percent of

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# Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

the vote, but with a big confidence interval say going down to 2 45 percent, I would not have confidence that that group had a 3 candidate of choice. Understood. And so when you say well above 50 percent, is 16:00:22 5 that 55 percent? Generally higher, but I don't have an exact cutoff. 6 7 Do you know whether any experts in your field have exact cutoffs for what they consider to be a significant majority such that it produces a candidate of choice among a racial group? 16:00:46 10 11 I don't know. 12 And have you observed any consistent numbers in your own 1.3 past practice or litigation you've been involved in of when you 14 generally find that a significant majority prefers a candidate such that it is their candidate of choice? 16:01:09 15 16 Typically, I find one of two results for the most part. 17 Uh-huh. 18 Either there's a relatively high vote share, for a group -- a certain candidate, say 70 percent range or higher. 19 Q Okay. 21

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And so I don't have to worry about sort of that fine line, or that group's sort of towards the middle and split. And often when a group is split, there's going to be a relatively large competent table. We are going to be more uncertain about that group's voting behavior.

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So those are sort of the more typical results that I find. 1 2 Got it. Thank you, Dr. Palmer. 3 So there really is no bright line for racially-polarized voting that you are aware of? That's right. 16:02:02 5 Okay. And for your racial polarization analysis in this 6 case, you analyzed 12 elections; is that right? I look at 12 elections at the precinct level and an 8 additional eight elections at the county level. Okay. And did your report contain information about any 16:02:22 10 11 congressional elections? 12 There have been no congressional elections under No. 13 these enacted maps. 14 Uh-huh. And all of these elections that you analyzed are statewide elections, right? 16:02:41 15 16 Α Yes. 17 So am I correct that when you used in the racial 18 polarization context the term, endogenous election, refers to elections for the particular office at issue? 19 16:02:59 20 A Yes. 21 And your report does not contain any endogenous elections, 22 right? 23 There have been no endogenous elections held under these under these new districts, but as I talked about earlier, I did 24

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examine endogenous elections under the old map for 2018 in

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- lacksquare lacksquare
- 2 Q Okay. And under the old map, you could have looked at
- 3 congressional elections, and you did in Chestnut v. Merrill,
- 4 | then, right?
- 16:03:32 5 A Yes.
  - 6 Q Okay. And do you think that analysis would be relevant to
  - 7 what you are testifying about today?
  - 8 A It's relevant in that I find the same consistent pattern.
  - 9 Q Uh-huh.
- 16:03:46 10 A But simply endogenous elections at these geographies are
  - 11 | not available.
  - 12 Q Right. But they're available for geographies that look
  - 13 similar to these geographies; is that right?
  - 14 A I don't have the old and new maps in front of me to sort
- 16:04:01 15 of compare the changes.
  - 16 Q Okay. Fair enough.
  - Did you discuss any primary elections in your report?
  - 18 A No.
  - 19 Q Did you analyze any primary elections when conducting any
- 16:04:1720 research for your report, so, analyze primary elections that
  - 21 may not have made it into the final cut?
  - 22 A No.
  - 23 Q Are you aware of any racial polarization expert reports
  - 24 offered for the purposes of litigation that have included
- 16:04:35 25 | information about primary elections?

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A Yes.

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Q Can you think of any reasons why racial polarization experts might prefer to look at primary elections rather than general elections?

A I prefer to look at general elections.

Q I apologize if my question wasn't clear. Can you think of any reasons why racial polarization experts might prefer to look at primary elections rather than general elections?

A I don't know.

Q Do you think that primary elections could have advantages over general elections for the purposes of racial polarization analysis insofar as primary elections could more effectively hold partisanship constant?

A I disagree that that would be an advantage.

Q Do you think that looking at primary elections for the purposes of racial polarization analysis could more effectively try to hold partisanship constant?

A I think -- I don't think so. I think that general elections where the most -- the largest number of voters and much larger number of voters participate give us a better measure of racial polarized voting.

Q Okay. Maybe my question is a little bit unclear. What I'm trying to tease out, and I'm sure I am not doing a good job is, you know, when I think about a general election, I think one confounding variable about why voters vote the way that

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they do could be partisanship as opposed to race. Is that 2 fair? 3 I disagree that it's a confounding variable. Whereas we talked about earlier, we're not trying to understand why voters 16:06:37 5 vote the way they do. Uh-huh. 6 7 We're trying to look at how they vote. And racial polarized voting doesn't require understanding why. It only requires understanding how they vote and the choices that voters make. 16:06:51 10 Fair enough, Dr. Palmer. 11 12 So if someone were interested in trying to figure out why voters vote the way that they do, do you think that there could 13 14 be an advantage to analyzing primary elections insofar as those primary elections might hold partisanship more constant than 16:07:07 15 general elections? 16 17 Can you repeat the question? 18 Sure. So insofar as someone was trying to figure out why voters vote the way that they do, do you think that there could 19 16:07:2620 be an advantage in looking at primary elections rather than general elections because primary elections could hold 21 22 partisanship more constant? 23 MS. MADDURI: Objection. Calls for speculation, and 24 it's beyond the scope of Dr. Palmer's report.

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JUDGE MARCUS: If you can answer the question, I will

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allow it. You may proceed, Dr. Palmer, with your answer. 2 Overruled. 3 THE WITNESS: I think you're asking a research question about if primaries have that advantage. I don't know 16:07:58 5 the answer to that question. BY MR. WILSON: 6 7 Are you aware of any racial polarization experts who have concluded the primary elections would have that advantage over general elections? I don't know. 16:08:13 10 11 Fair enough. 12 Now, Dr. Palmer, I would like to ask you a little bit about the data sources that you used. 1.3 14 Could we turn to page 2 of your report, please? And if it's easier -- it looks like you have it in front of you. But 16:08:30 15 16 if you would like, I can put it up on the screen. Just let me 17 know. 18 On page 2 of your report, you have a section called data sources and elections analyzed, right? 19 16:08:4620 Α Yes. And in this section, you explain where you got the data 21 22 that you used for racial polarization analysis, right? 23 Α Yes.

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racially-polarized voting using two different data sources,

And you write in paragraph 11, I analyzed

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correct?

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A That's correct. But I believe that should be three when you include the county level data, as well.

Q Thank you. You are well ahead of me, Dr. Palmer. I was going to ask about that for my own edification.

So the first bullet point, you described the sources that you used to determine precinct level election results and data on Citizen Voting Age Population or CVAP by race for the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections, and the 2017 special election for Senate, right?

11 A Yes.

Q And as you describe it, in the first bucket, you used data, quote, assembled by the voting and election science team, right?

16:09:49 15 A Yes.

Q And I think Ms. Madduri may have asked you about the voting and election science team. But can you tell me just one more time who they are or what that group is?

A It's a group of academics at least partially based at the University of Florida who do the really hard and time-consuming work of matching up precinct shapefiles to election results.

Q Thank you, Dr. Palmer.

And so does the Secretary of State provide the voter registration and voter history data that the VEST uses?

A I don't believe that they use that data. They use the

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election results, the actual counts of the number of votes cast 2 for each candidate, which is from the Secretary of State. 3 Okay. Okay. Got it. And what specific data then did the voting and 16:10:51 5 election science team assemble? They take the election results, which are lists for every 6 precinct of every election and the number of votes received by each candidate, and then they match those results to geographic data, to a shapefile, which is a map --Uh-huh. 16:11:11 10 11 -- of the precincts at the time of the election. And this 12 is -- this sounds like something that should be easy, but in 1.3 practice in many states, it's not because the counties that 14 might administer the precinct boundaries might identify something differently than the state system for reporting 16:11:33 15 election results. 16 I have no doubt that that's difficult. 17 18 Is that a task that you have ever undertaken yourself? 19 Yes, many times. Including in Chestnut v. Merrill in 16:11:49 20 2019, I sought to do this for Alabama, and I was provided shapefiles for I believe most, if not all, the counties in the 21 22 focus area that I used at the time, which was a different focus 23 area in that case, and voter files which identified by precincts and election results, and I had significant 24 16:12:13 25 challenges matching up that data such there were some counties

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I could not include in my analysis even with additional data and requests from the state at the time. And that's all documented in that report.

Q And so why did you not repeat that process in this case?

A I knew from past experience that it's a very -- very

time-consuming task. And the VEST data was not -- I do not belief was available at the time of my previous report, but was now available. So if somebody else had already completed this, you know, very difficult time-consuming task, I can rely on their data set.

Q Fair enough. Thank you. And next you described the data as having been, quote, updated to use 2020 VTDs and distributed on the Redistricting Data Hub, right?

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Q I'm sure this is a very basic question, but what does it mean to update the Secretary of State's data to use 2020 VTDs?

A So it's updating the VEST data, which is based on election results from the Secretary of State. And essentially, it's transforming one geography, one set of boundaries into another. And the way that this is typically done is you look at census blocks or block groups, so very small units within each precinct, and precinct would be made up of many such, and aggregate the data down to go from precinct level to census block level. And then apply the -- and then for the aggregate back up based on which census blocks are in which VTDs instead.

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So it's a way of estimating vote shares at a different 1 2 geographic level based on data from the precinct level data. 3 Thank you. And then you quote distributed this updated information on 16:14:12 5 the Redistricting Data Hub; is that right? This data was distributed. I did not distribute it. 6 7 Okay. I downloaded it from Redistricting Data Hub. 8 Okay. My mistake. Thank you. 9 And does distribute meaning anything statistically special 16:14:23 10 11 here, or does that just mean that Redistricting Data Hub had the information and it was provided? 12 1.3 Yes. I could have said published. 14 Published. Okay. Thank you. And am I right, you write then that you, quote, merged the distributed data with the 16:14:41 15 16 Citizen Voting Age Population data from the U.S. Census' 17 American Community Survey; is that right? 18 Yes. 19 And so what is it to merge the distributed data? 16:14:5620 So what I was able to download from the Redistricting Data Hub was VTD level election data, that is, the number of votes 21 22 cast for each candidate in each election within that unit of 23 geography and then a map, the actual boundaries of that geography, and that's it. There's no data on the people who 24 16:15:20 25 live there. So I guess the data on the people who live there

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from the Census Bureau, and the American Community Survey is the annual product of the U.S. Census Bureau, unlike the decennial census, and it's the only government source for data on citizenship. So that's where — that's our source for Citizen Voting Age Population, and there's a special version of the ACS, the American Community Survey, put out every year by the Census Bureau of those Citizen Voting Age Population tables that are designed for this use for use in redistricting the voting rights cases.

And so that data is at a different geographic level. It's at the census block level is the small population or geographic level for that data. So I figure out which census blocks fall into which voting tabulation districts, and then add up the Citizen Voting Page Population for each group to get VTD level population data to go with the VTD level election data.

So it's all just -- all the data comes from different places. There's no one place that has it all together. And the bulk of my work on these cases of putting all this together in a way that works to make sense in checking it and validating it.

Q Thank you, Dr. Palmer.

Am I right that ACS data are survey results?

A Yes. But a very, very large scale survey conducted by the Census Bureau, not say -- a very different kind of survey that you might think about a public opinion survey that's looking at

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- a few hundred people.
- 2 Sure. Thank you for that. And these data are as you said
- 3 different from the decennial census data, right?
  - Yes.
- 16:17:11 5 Q And decennial census data are also referred to as, am I right, PL-94 data?
  - 7 The PL-94 is one way in which the census data is published
  - and distributed I believe primarily for redistricting. It's
  - the first -- it's sort of the first release of the census data,
- the one that came out last summer for this redistricting cycle. 16:17:32 10
  - 11 There's many, many other forms in which the U.S. census data is
  - 12 also produced.
  - 1.3 Okay. And the PL 94 data, then, were available when you
  - 14 conducted this analysis; is that right?
- Yes. 16:17:46 15 Α
  - Okay. And correct me if I'm wrong, but does ACS data --16
  - 17 does it allow you to control for both single-race black or you
  - 18 could call it black alone and any-part black racial
  - 19 demographics?
- 16:18:05 20 There's a few different racial categories within the
  - Citizenship Voting Age Population data. I used single-race 21
  - 22 non-Hispanic black. I believe there is some different
  - 23 multi-racial categories in there, but I am not sure what
  - exactly they are right now. 24
- 16:18:27 25 Q Thank you, Dr. Palmer.

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So I think that answered my next question. But you chose single-race black -- excuse me. You chose single-race non-Hispanic black for your analysis; is that right? Yes. Thank you. And then I think the second bullet point, you described the sources that you used to determine, quote, precinct-level election results and data on actual voter turnout by race for the 2020 general elections; is that right? Yes. And so, again, this data was assembled by the voting and election science team; is that right? The election results were also from the voting election science team. I'm sorry. Was that a -- sorry. Was that a 16:19:10 15 clarification? 16 Yes. The data -- this full data set was assembled by me. Okay. The election half of it came from the voting election 16:19:28 20 science team. The voter turnout side of it came from the data vendor L2.

22 Understood. Thank you, Dr. Palmer.

And I did want to ask you about that. So you say the actual turnout rate -- excuse me -- actual turnout by race was calculated by the Redistricting Data Hub using a commercial

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voter file provided by the data vendor L2, right? 2 Yes. Α 3 Do you know how L2 determines actual turn out by race? So L2 gets the voter files from the state, and then they 16:20:07 5 modify the race data a little bit. So Alabama includes self-identified race in the voter file, so L2 can start with that. And then for people where it's unknown or missing, they can do some modeling to try to estimate the race of those people. So it's going to be a little bit different than the one provided by the state, but I did not have access to a state 16:20:25 10 11 voter file. 12 Understood, Dr. Palmer. 13 And the information that L2 got from the state would have come from the Secretary of State; is that right? 14 I believe so. 16:20:38 15 Okay. And to the best of your knowledge, that's the 16 17 Secretary of State's voter registration. And is it a voter 18 history file or product? 19 Yes. I don't know in Alabama if it's one big file or if 16:20:57 20 it's produced as two separate files. But a typical voter file, 21 you're going to have a list of every registered voter, and then 22 either within that same list or some other table, a list of 23 every election that each voter voted in, at least within some

period of recent years.

Q Thank you, Dr. Palmer.

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16:21:12 25

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And do you know how the Secretary of State categorizes 1 2 race in its voter registration or voter history files? 3 I believe that it comes from the voter registration forum where voters are asked to identify their own race by selecting I box from a list. 16:21:31 5 6 And do you know whether voters can select multiple boxes such that they could be multi-racial under the Secretary of State's data? I don't know. Do you know whether the Secretary of State's data includes 16:21:48 10 11 a box that voters can check that says black? 12 I believe it does. I know I looked at the -- in Chestnut 1.3 v. Merrill, I was working directly with the voter files, but it's been some time since I looked at that form. 14 Sure. And do you know, then, what happens if a voter 16:22:10 15 selects two different racial groups? 16 17 I don't know. 18 Okay. If it's the case that a voter identifies only as black, is it -- excuse me -- let me rephrase the question. 19 16:22:35 20 If a voter only selects black on the voter registration form, is it fair in your view to say that they identify as 21 22 single-race black? 23 I don't know. I don't know how a multi-racial voter would choose to fill out that form. 24 Q If they could select multiple boxes, if they consider 16:22:56 25

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themselves to be multi-racial, are they declined to select 2 multiple boxes and select only black, is it fair to assume that 3 they identify as single-race black? MS. MADDURI: Objection. Calls for speculation. 16:23:18 5 Outside the scope. 6 JUDGE MARCUS: Can you answer that question, 7 Dr. Palmer? THE WITNESS: I think for the purposes of voter 8 registration, they are at times choosing to identify themselves 16:23:28 10 as single-race black. 11 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. You may proceed, 12 Mr. Wilson. 13 MR. WILSON: Thank you, Judge. Thank you, Dr. Palmer. BY MR. WILSON: 14 So if we could move to the third bullet. You state that 16:23:44 15 16 you used data, quote, downloaded from the website of the 17 Alabama Secretary of State to find county level election 18 results and data on voter registration by race for the 2012 and 2014 general elections, right? 19 16:24:02 20 Α Yes. Okay. Do you recall who was running in these elections? 21 22 The -- I remember the name of some of the candidates, but 23 certainly not all of them. Okay. And how did the 2012 and 2014 election data feature 24 16:24:25 25 in your analysis?

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In Figure 4 and I believe it's Table 3 where I used the 1 2 county level data to estimate racially-polarized voting at the 3 county level. Okay. And you were getting the data on voters' race from 16:24:50 5 the Secretary of State for this analysis, right? 6 Yes. 7 And so per our previous question and answer, you would say that this is, then, single-race data; is that right? MS. MADDURI: Objection. Misstates the testimony. 9 JUDGE MARCUS: I think you can answer the question. 16:25:06 10 11 Did Mr. Wilson have it right or not, Dr. Palmer? 12 THE WITNESS: It's self-identified racial data, which I believe if they can only check one box, I believe we consider 13 14 that single-race data. BY MR. WILSON: 16:25:21 15 16 Right. Yeah. Thank you, Dr. Palmer. I appreciate that. 17 And I apologize if my question was unclear. 18 So is it fair to say, then, that the single-race black metric underlies part of your racial polarization analysis? 19 16:25:35 20 Yes. I used single-race non-Hispanic black in the Citizen Voting Age Population. And to be fair, that's reflected on the 21 22 voter file of the other analyses. 23 Okay. So to the extent that single -- that -- excuses me. Let me rephrase. To the extent that the single-race black 24 16:26:00 25 metric is reflected in the second and third analyses that you

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refer to, you would say that you used single-race black for all 2 of your analysis; is that right? 3 Yes. Α Thank you, Dr. Palmer. 16:26:15 5 The Secretary of State provides voter registration data in 6 which -- excuse me. I'm sorry. 7 I think we actually already covered some of this. So we talked about Dr. Hood's rebuttal report a little bit 8 earlier. You talk about that report with Ms. Madduri; is that correct? 16:26:54 10 11 Yes. 12 And you did have a chance to look at this report, right? 1.3 Α Yes. 14 And, Dr. Palmer, do you have that report in front of you? I do not. 16:27:02 15 Α 16 Okay. I will try to share my screen here. Am I sharing 17 my screen here with you, Dr. Palmer? 18 Yes. Α 19 Thank you. 16:27:36 20 In paragraph 2 of Dr. Hood's supplemental report, he specifically notes the Redistricting Data Hub's data. 21 22 JUDGE MARCUS: I'm sorry to interrupt you, but could 23 you tell us what number this is among your exhibits? 24 MR. WILSON: Of course. I'm sorry. This is Defendants' Exhibit 6. 16:27:54 25

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JUDGE MARCUS: Thanks. 1 BY MR. WILSON: 2 3 Dr. Palmer, in paragraph 2 of Dr. Hood's supplemental report, he specifically notes that the Redistricting Data Hub's 16:28:15 5 data appears to have several problems; is that right? He -- I don't think that's right. He notes a comment in a 6 7 validation report that they were not able to replicate joining election data. That's in paragraph 2, but he doesn't say that that necessarily means there's a problem. Fair enough. Thank you, Dr. Palmer. And he notes that 16:28:37 10 11 it's unclear from his report, and he is referring to your 12 report, how much time Professor Palmer engaged in to validate 1.3 the quality of data housed on the Redistricting Data Hub 14 website. Did I read that correctly? You did. I didn't report the amount of time I spent 16:28:51 15 16 validating the data. In my report though, I spent considerable 17 time doing so. 18 Can you describe that process for us? 19 Sure. So to start with, the best data, which is the one I 16:29:14 20 believe he -- Dr. Hood is discussing here, I looked at the individual records. I looked at the totals of the county and 21 22 state levels to make sure that the total numbers made sense. 23 Where possible, I looked at a lot of maps of the data to make sure that the units made sense, as well. And most 24 16:29:38 25 significantly, because this data was updated from precinct

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level to VTD level, I looked at the exact process that was done. And in fact for 2017, where it was not done, I 2 3 implemented that same code myself to update the data. So I really -- by the end of the process, I really understood how 16:29:56 5 they assembled their data, why it looked the way it did, how it was organized, and how to recreate parts of that process 7 myself. Thank you, Dr. Palmer. 8 And can you estimate about how long this process took you, 9 if you recall? 16:30:09 10 11 I don't know exact. It happened, you know, ever several 12 different steps of my analysis. You know, I looked at the 1.3 initial data, understood it, and then as I worked through the 14 analysis, I did continual validation checks, especially around merging. When I am merging -- I have to merge these files 16:30:26 15 together, different data sources, you know, merging takes a lot 16 17 of time and validation to make sure nothing is getting missed 18 or merging correctly. Understood. Thank you. Dr. Palmer. If we could look at 19 16:30:45 20 Paragraph 3, and I believe Ms. Madduri asked you a little bit about this earlier. 21 22 Now, Dr. Hood notes that by his finding, at least, the L2 23 data consistently underestimated the percentage of white

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voters, and the percentage of other voters was consistently

overestimated by L2 on an average of about 4 -- a little over

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- 4 percent for both; is that right?
- 2 A That's what Dr. Hood reports, yes.
  - Q Right. Right. Yeah. Just asking about his report here.

    And do you dispute that conclusion?
- 16:31:27 5 A I -- I have not compared the baseline registration number
  - 6 Dr. Hood is making the comparison to, but I do find small differences, as well.
  - Q He also notes that the percentage of black voters was overestimated by L2 in some counties and underestimated in
  - 11 A Yes.

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others, right?

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- 12 Q And did you find those same conclusions?
- A I did. And we should expect this. Right? We should
  expect the estimates are going to be slightly different than
  other data sources. And if we're estimating data, and I also
  talk about in my report how the voter file I had access to is
  dated a little bit later than the actual election. As there's
  some uncertainty, we should expect that numbers will be a tiny
  bit too high in some and a tiny bit too low in others. That

seems completely reasonable to me for estimated data.

- 21 Q Thank you, Dr. Palmer.
  - And do you agree with Dr. Hood's conclusion that while these discrepancies in the L2 turnout data may not appear to be all that sizeable, they certainly could make a difference in a district functionality analysis where the racial composition of

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the district in question is evenly divided? 2 They could make a difference in a functionality analysis 3 conducted using this data. But my functionality analysis did not use this data. They can make no difference to my 16:33:04 5 functionality analysis. Understood, Dr. Palmer. And why would this be a problem 6 7 to use L2 data as Dr. Hood has described it for functionality analysis? 8 Well, it -- first of all, it might be a problem. We don't know. It depends potentially I would expect on the results of 16:33:21 10 11 the functionality analysis and, you know, how close the district might be to 50 percent. I believe that Dr. Hood's 12 1.3 functionality methodology could use data like this, but that's 14 a different approach to functionality than what I take in my report where I rely just on the actual past election results. 16:33:43 15 16 I don't do any modeling on the results. I just aggregate them 17 up to the new geographic units. 18 Understood, Dr. Palmer. But do you think, then, that the 19 problem with modeling and the estimates that models produce can 16:34:0620 pose a problem for functionality analysis? Again, not saying that this is what you did here, but in a different 21 22 functionality analysis, could using estimates pose the problem 23 that Dr. Hood describes? I suppose it's entirely dependent on the analysis and the 24

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estimates and what we're doing. It's not the way I have done

16:34:26 25

- this analysis. I find that difficult to answer. 2 Fair enough. So if we could actually turn, then, and I am 3 going to go back to your report, and, Dr. Palmer, do you still have your report in front of you? 16:34:45 5 I do. Give me a second to stop sharing. Hopefully that worked. 6 7 So on page 9 of your report, you offer your expertise regarding the, quote, performance of the majority-minority districts in the illustrative maps; is that correct? 16:35:05 10 Yes. 11 And so the record is clear, these are referring to the 12 Caster plaintiffs' illustrative maps? 1.3 Α Yes. 14 Is that right? Thank you. Did you draw those maps, Dr. Palmer? 16:35:20 15 16 No. 17
  - Do you know who drew those maps?
  - 18 I believe it was Mr. Cooper.
  - 19 Can you briefly describe how you conducted this analysis?
- 16:35:35 20 I was provided shapefiles, that is, geographic mapping
  - files for each of the six maps by plaintiffs' counsel. And I 21
  - 22 then take that, and I merge that with the election data that's
  - 23 also -- has spatial data in it, the election results,
  - essentially that VEST election data we have been talking about. 24
- 16:36:01 25 And so for each district, I look and see which precincts are

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contained in that district. And then I aggregate. I add up all the votes for each candidate in each election within each district and say, well, if these are the precincts that voted in this election, this is who would have won, or those are the vote shares that would have resulted.

Q Just so I'm tracking, Mr. Cooper part of what he provided you then would be the racial populations of the proposed districts, and then is it fair to say you applied the statistical patterns of racial voting that you had determined to those populations? Is that --

11 A No. No. That's incorrect.

12 Q Okay.

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A I don't -- I don't know if I was provided the racial data. If it was included, it was not something that I looked at or factored into my analysis. I suppose I had it to know which was the majority-minority district, but I did not actually use those numbers in my analysis. What you are describing is an approach that I believe was used by Dr. Hood in his initial report. I'm not doing that. I'm not looking at the demographics of these places. I am not looking at turnout by race. I'm just taking the actual election results for the physical places that fall within these new districts. I'm looking at the actual votes cast.

So let's say a district contains some set of precincts, I add up all the votes cast for each candidate in those

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- precincts, and say, okay, this candidate would have gotten X votes, add it all up, this candidate got Y votes, and now here is the vote share and who won. There's no modeling done whatsoever in my functionality analysis.
- O Understood. That's very helpful. Thank you, Dr. Palmer.

  And we have discussed a procedure -- a statistical

  procedure called ecological inference throughout your

  examination; is that right?
  - 9 A Yes.
- 16:38:05 10 Q And that is the statistical method that your 11 racial-polarization analysis relies on; is that right?
  - 12 A Yes.
  - 13 Q And it's fair to say that ecological inference allows you 14 to estimate how groups vote?
- 16:38:2615 A That's the general goal of the analysis.
  - 16 Q Fair enough. That's the goal of the analysis. The goal
    17 of ecological inference is to determine how groups vote, right?
  - 18 A Yes.
- 19 Q And ecological inference, then, does not explain why 16:38:45 20 groups vote the way that they do?
  - 21 A That's correct. That's not the goal.
  - 22 Q And so your report shows that white Alabamians tend to
  - 23 vote Republican; is that right?
- 24 A I don't believe that's shown in my report, but I believe 16:39:0125 that to be true.

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You don't believe that that's shown in your report? 1 2 I don't think I talk about parties in my report. 3 Do you talk about candidates in your report? In a few places, yes. 16:39:15 5 Are you aware of the parties to which the candidates belonged in the elections that you examined, Dr. Palmer? 7 Yes. And did the white candidates of choice belong to the 8 Republican Party? 16:39:34 10 Yes. 11 Thank you. 12 Did you investigate whether white Alabamians tends to vote 1.3 Republican because of some sort of racial bias? 14 That would be looking at why voters vote the way they Α No. do, which is not part of this analysis. 16:39:52 15 Right. And ecological inference could not tell you that; 16 17 is that right? 18 That's right. 19 And did you come to any conclusion about the party for 16:40:03 20 whom black Alabamians tend to vote? They tend to vote for Democratic candidates. 21 Α

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greater extent in some elections, but not in all of them.

And based on your report, do black Alabamians tend to

block vote to a greater or lesser extent than white Alabamians?

It depends on the election, but potentially a slightly

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16:40:34 25

- Q Okay. And I think you have already said this, but the racial-polarization analysis you conducted can't explain why black Alabamians tend to vote for Democrats, can it?
  - A That's right. That's not the intent of this analysis.
  - Q Uh-huh. So is it fair, then, to say that someone using ecological inference cannot say whether people cast votes because they like a candidate as opposed to because they dislike another candidate?
- 9 A I suppose so. We just simply see they prefer one candidate to another.
  - 11 Q Right. And so, for example, Dr. Palmer, are you familiar
    12 with the concept of a protest vote? Have you heard that term
    13 before?
  - 14 A Yes.

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16:41:57 20

16:40:59 5

- 16:41:37 15 Q And would it be fair to say that a protest vote occurs
  the when someone votes really because they dislike a certain
  candidate and so they are going to vote for someone else?
  - 18 A I think that's reasonable.
    - Q Okay. So a protest vote would be like I oppose this candidate, and I don't care. I'm just going to cast a vote that opposes this person, right?
  - A Yes. You're describing a reason why somebody might cast their vote a certain way, which is not the purpose of this analysis.
- 16:42:10 25 Q Right. So ecological inference then you would agree can't

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show whether groups are voting for one candidate or against 2 another; is that right? 3 I'm not sure that's something that we can ever separate. It's showing that they prefer one candidate to another is the 16:42:36 5 same thing as showing they don't prefer the other candidate. So I am not sure we can say like versus dislike, everything is 7 relative. Okay. Fair enough. I am going to try to share something 8 again. And I believe if I do this correctly, Dr. Palmer, am I 16:42:53 10 11 sharing your report? Are you able to see your report in the 12 record? This is Caster Exhibit 79. 1.3 So I would like to go down to page 5 and paragraph 17 of your report. You wrote that in paragraph 17, White voters are 14 highly cohesive in voting in opposition to the black candidate 16:43:34 15 of choice in every election. 16 17 Did I read that correctly? 18 Yes. 19 And in paragraph 16, you also refer to black voters as 16:43:49 20 supporting their candidates of choice, right? 21 Α Yes. 22 I think earlier in your direct examination, you referred

A Yes.

recall that?

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16:44:05 25

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to white voters as opposing black-preferred candidates. Do you

Okay. But you agree that ecological inference can't 1 2 actually confirm that white voters are voting because they 3 affirmatively oppose black-preferred candidates; is that right? I'm not sure I understand that. I use the terms as a 16:44:26 5 relative term. A black voter supporting their candidate of choice is the same thing as a black voter opposing the white 7 candidate of choice. And vice versa. These are just relative measures of support. I don't use these labels to denote that one party is voting, you know, in a -- because they like candidates, whereas the other is voting dislike or vice versa. 16:44:47 10 11 We're purely looking at relative relevance. 12 So to vote for or against someone in a binary election, 13 you would say that those are basically synonymous, or at least 14 is that how you intend to use them in your report? Yes. I think that anything else is trying to get at why 16:45:04 15 16 people vote the way they do, and here, it's just what is your 17 ranking of these candidates, who are you choosing to vote for. 18 Understood. Thank you, Dr. Palm ever. 19 So in paragraph 18 in the final sentence, you write, Every 16:45:24 20 election, black voters have a clear candidate of choice, and white voters are strongly opposed to this candidate. Did I 21 22 read that correctly? 23 Yes.

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And so what does it mean for white voters to be strongly

24

opposed this candidate?

16:45:39 25

- 1 A They are voting -- they are strongly or cohesively voting 2 for the opponent of the black candidate.
  - Q So to be clear, then, your analysis is not suggesting that white voters have a particularly -- individually have a particularly strong opposition. What you mean by strongly opposed is that white voters by a large margin are voting for
- 8 A Yes.

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16:46:00 5

9 Q Okay. And because these are synonymous terms, you could
16:46:1910 have rewritten the last sentence of paragraph 18 to say that
11 white voters have a clear candidate of choice, and black voters
12 are strongly opposed to this candidate; is that right?

the white-preferred candidate; is that right?

- 13 A Yes.
- 14 Q And what do you mean when you say that black voters are strongly opposed to the white-preferred candidate?
  - 16 A In that case, large majorities of black voters are voting 17 against the white-preferred candidate.
  - 18 Q Would this be evidence that black Alabamians vote for 19 racist reasons?
- 16:46:58 20 A No. Once again, we're never getting at intent in this
  21 analysis. We're never getting at reasons -- reasons for voting
  22 in this analysis.
  - Q Would this analysis support the inference that black
    Alabamians are voting for racist reasons?
- 16:47:15 25 A No. This analysis provides no evidence about why people

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vote the way they do. 2 Okay. I think just a couple more questions, Dr. Palmer. 3 I appreciate your patience. In your view, Dr. Palmer, does block voting approximate 16:47:45 5 racial animus? MS. MADDURI: Objection. Asked and answered. 6 7 Dr. Palmer has explained his response to this in numerous different ways. 9 JUDGE MARCUS: We will take it one more time. Overruled. 16:47:57 10 11 THE WITNESS: Can you repeat the question, please? 12 BY MR. WILSON: 1.3 Of course. Thank you. Dr. Palmer, does block voting approximate racial animus? 14 I don't think evidence of block voting says anything about 16:48:08 15 racial animus. 16 17 Thank you, Dr. Palmer. 18 So is it fair to say that even where racial polarization 19 in voting is high, partisanship or political platforms may 16:48:28 20 explain the different voting preferences of different races? MS. MADDURI: Objection. Asked and answered. 21 22 JUDGE MARCUS: I think he has asked and answered this 23 question a number of times. If I heard him right, Mr. Wilson, he said that he can tell you nothing about the why question, 24 16:48:52 25 just the how question. And I think you have probed that in any

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number of different ways. 1 2 So can we move on, please? 3 MR. WILSON: Of course, Judge Marcus. Thank you. will move along. BY MR. WILSON: 16:49:04 5 Dr. Palmer, you've served as an expert witness or 6 7 litigation consultant on numerous cases involving voting restrictions; is that right? Α Yes. Did any of these numerous cases require you to analyze 16:49:20 10 11 whether racially-polarized voting existed where a majority of white voters supported the Republican Party? 12 1.3 I'm sorry. Can you repeat the question? 14 Sure. Did any of these numerous cases require you to analyze whether racially-polarized voting existed where a 16:49:45 15 majority of white voters supported the Republican Party? 16 17 Yes. 18 I apologize. I'm still sharing, and I don't need to be. 19 So let me stop that. 16:50:07 20 And in these cases where a majority of white voters supported the Republican Party, did you ever conclude that 21 22 elections were not racially polarized? 23 I don't believe so. 24 Dr. Palmer, are you aware of any parts of Alabama where 16:50:29 25 African-Americans predominantly support the Republican Party?

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I don't know. 1 2 Are you aware of any parts of America in which 3 African-Americans predominantly support the Republican Party? I don't know. 16:50:43 5 Do you know whether at the national level African-American 6 voters tend to vote for the Democratic Party? 7 They do. Does this mean that as far as you're aware, voting will be 8 racially polarized any place in America with both black voters 16:51:08 10 and Republican-leaning white voters? MS. MADDURI: Objection. Calls for speculation. 11 12 Outside the scope of Dr. Palmer's report. 1.3 JUDGE MARCUS: Overruled. You may answer if you can. 14 THE WITNESS: Can you repeat that, please? MR. WILSON: Sure, Dr. Palmer. 16:51:23 15 16 BY MR. WILSON: 17 Sure. I asked you earlier whether you are aware that 18 African-American -- whether you are aware if African-American 19 voters throughout the country tend to vote for the Democratic 16:51:36 20 Party, and the answer was yes, right? 2.1 Α Yes. 22 And so my question, then, is: Does mean that as far as you're aware, voting will be racially polarized any place in 23

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America with both black voters and Republican-leaning white

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voters?

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I suppose it first depends on what you mean by Republican 1 2 leaning. If it's say 80, 90 percent of white voters are 3 Republican like here in Alabama, then we are likely to find that it's likely to be polarized. We can't always detect it. 16:52:14 5 It depends on the data, whether we can identify racially-polarized voting. I think that's a separate question, 6 7 whether it exists. If, you know, when you say white voters tend to support 8 the Republican Party and it's something like 55 percent of them are Republican, I would not classify that as racially-polarized 16:52:28 10 11 voting. 12 Fair enough. Have you ever heard of racial polarization 13 existing where a majority of white voters supported Democrats? I don't believe so in at least the recent era. 14 Α Thank you for that clarification. 16:52:47 15 So is it true, then, that to the best of your knowledge, 16 racial polarization has only been found to exist where whites 17 18 tend to vote for Republicans? 19 I believe that's been my finding in my reports. 16:53:09 20 Are you aware of any reports that have come to the 21 opposite conclusion? 22 I don't believe so. 23 MR. WILSON: And, Your Honor, if I may have one moment to confer with my counsel? 24 16:53:30 25 JUDGE MARCUS: You sure can.

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MR. WILSON: I think that's all we have. Thank you 1 2 for your time. 3 JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you. We have redirect, Ms. Madduri? 16:53:50 5 MS. MADDURI: No, Your Honor. 6 JUDGE MARCUS: No further questions, then, that anyone 7 has for Dr. Palmer? Judge Manasco, Judge Moorer, any 8 questions? 9 JUDGE MANASCO: None from me. 16:54:05 10 JUDGE MOORER: None. 11 JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you, Dr. Palmer. You are 12 excused. 13 What is your pleasure, folks, at this point? And let me raise one other thing with you as you tell me your pleasure. 14 Judges Manasco, Moorer, and I discussed earlier the 16:54:21 15 prospect and preference if it's agreeable with all of you to 16 17 begin tomorrow morning at 8:30 Central Standard Time rather 18 than 9:00 o'clock Central Standard, and it would be 9:30 19 Eastern Time so we can get an earlier start on Dr. Bryan's 16:54:52 20 testimony tomorrow. Does that work -- do any of you have any 21 problem with that? I see none. 22 MR. DAVIS: No. 23 JUDGE MARCUS: What is your pleasure, then, at this point? You have about 25, 30 minutes left in the schedule we 24 16:55:11 25 had set. I don't know that it makes sense to start anybody

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now. You tell me what your pleasure is. 1 2 MR. DAVIS: Your Honor, for Secretary Merrill, I do 3 not have a preference. If the Court would like, if I could have about three minutes to go downstairs where Mr. Wilson just 16:55:25 5 was and get set up, and Mr. Bryan will take my place here. We're happy to get 30 minutes out of the way. We're happy to 7 wait until the morning. Up to the other parties and the Court. JUDGE MARCUS: So you are happy to start with Bryan 8 right now is what you are saying? MR. DAVIS: Whatever the parties and the Court prefer. 16:55:40 10 11 JUDGE MARCUS: Let me turn to your colleagues for each 12 of the plaintiffs. What is your pleasure, Ms. Khanna, and 13 Mr. Ross? Do you prefer we start him tomorrow morning, or 14 would you just as soon have him start today? 16:55:57 15 MS. KHANNA: Your Honor, I think we'd just as soon have him start today if there's time. 16 17 JUDGE MARCUS: Mr. Ross, do you have the same view? 18 MR. ROSS: Yes, Your Honor. 19 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Since you have all agreed, 16:56:10 20 then why don't we take a few minutes, Mr. Davis, give you a 21 chance to bring Mr. Bryan up, and we'll get started in about 22 five minutes. 23 Thank you. 24 (Recess.) 17:03:05 25 JUDGE MARCUS: Are the parties ready to proceed? Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

MR. DAVIS: We're ready. 1 2 MS. KHANNA: Yes, Your Honor. 3 JUDGE MARCUS: I take it you are calling Mr. Bryan at this point. 17:03:13 5 MR. DAVIS: We are, Your Honor. JUDGE MARCUS: All right. Thank you. Mr. Bryan, if 6 7 you would raise your right hand, we will swear you in at this 8 point. 9 THOMAS BRYAN, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as 17:03:19 10 11 follows: 12 JUDGE MARCUS: If you would be kind enough to state 1.3 your name for the record. 14 THE WITNESS: Thomas Mark Bryan, B-R-Y-A-N. JUDGE MARCUS: Thank you, sir. You may proceed. 17:03:38 15 16 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Judge. 17 DIRECT EXAMINATION 18 BY MR. DAVIS: 19 Good evening, Mr. Bryan. 17:03:45 20 Α Good evening, sir. What is your profession? 21 22 I am a professional demographer. Α 23 Do you have an educational background in demography or related to the field? 24 17:03:58 25 Α Yes. Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

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What degrees do you hold related to the field? 1 2 I have an undergraduate degree in history from Portland 3 State University. I have a master's degree in urban studies from Portland State University. I have a master's degree in 17:04:14 5 management in information systems technology from George Washington University. 6 7 And do you have experience in the area of redistricting? Yes, I do. I have worked for approximately 20 years as an 8 expert. I have performed analysis, developmental plans, critiquing of plans of approximately 50 political districting 17:04:39 10 11 or redistricting exercises, and approximately 150 school 12 redistricting exercises during that time. 1.3 So have you been hired by any jurisdictions to draw plans? 14 Yes, I have. Α At what levels have you either drawn plans or assisted in 17:05:00 15 16 drawing plans? 17 I have drawn plans or assisted in the drawing of plans at 18 all levels of geography. I have participated in either the 19 litigation of plans or the drawing of plans at the state level 17:05:21 20 this year in four different states. I have also participated in the drawing -- or the critique of the drawing of plans at 21 22 the local level, county level, and small areas over the course 23 of my entire career. 24 And do you have experience, Mr. Bryan, in studying and

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critiquing a plan that someone else has drawn?

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- A Yes, I do, extensively.
- Q Do you have experience with databases combining demographic and election data?
- 4 A I do. I have significant background and experience in census data. I used to be an employee of the Census Bureau.
  - 6 And I am familiar with their databases and their techniques
  - 7 based on my employment there. I leveraged that experience and
  - 8 background to use those data in combination with other data
  - 9 sets, in some cases, political data for the benefit in some
- 17:06:23 10 instances of supporting political scientists in their roles in
  - 11 cases such as this.
  - 12 Q What is the field of statistical transformation,
  - 13 Mr. Bryan?

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- 14 A Statistical transformation, it's an area of looking at
- 17:06:39 15 data that, you know, may or may not make sense or may or may
  - 16 not be useful in the forum that they're actually reported in.
  - 17 And so we as statisticians, demographers, and analysts have to
  - 18 take the opportunity to do work with data that we're presented
  - 19 in order to change it into a form that's more readily usable or
- 17:06:59 20 easily interpretable by our audience.

  - 22 statistical transformation as you have described it?
  - 23 A Yeah. Yes, we do. It's a common practice in demography.
  - 24 There is a wide variety of different ways we can do it and
- 17:07:15 25 circumstances under which we would do it in order to make data

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more useful or interpretable by our audience.

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Q Are you experienced to predicting population shifts?

A Yes, I am. I have been published. I am the author of the section on population estimates and projections in a book called The Methods and Materials of Demography. It's commonly referred to in the field as the Bible of demography.

I have experience in writing peer-reviewed journals, papers, and sections of other books with coauthors that I commonly work with in this space. It was also an area in which I was professionally trained and developed expertise when I worked at the Census Bureau.

- Q Thank you. And when did you work at the Census Bureau?
- 13 A It was approximately 1998 to 2001, during the course of a
  14 decennial census and during the development of the American
  17:08:1615 Community Survey. Thank you.
  - Q You should have a copy of a notebook with our exhibits in it, Mr. Bryan, at least available to you. Would you take a look at Defense Exhibit 3 and tell us if that is a copy of your CV?
  - A Yes. I have that document.
  - Q Thank you. I just wanted to identify it for the record.

MR. DAVIS: At this time, Your Honors, we move to tender Mr. Bryan as an expert in redistricting, demography, statistical transformation, and predicting population shifts, which Mr. Bryan can explain is also known as applied

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demography. 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: Any objections from counsel for the 3 plaintiffs? MR. BLACKSHER: No. 17:08:56 5 MS. KHANNA: No objection, Your Honor. JUDGE MARCUS: And for the Milligan folks, any 6 I'm sorry. We can't hear you in New York because 7 objection? you are muted. You are still muted, so we can't hear you. Get someone to help him unmute. He would be for Milligan or for --17:09:27 10 11 MR. DUNN: Did that help? JUDGE MARCUS: That's perfect. Thank you. 12 13 MR. DUNN: Thank you, Your Honor. I take it you can 14 see and hear me. JUDGE MARCUS: I can. If you would just state your 17:09:38 15 16 name and who you represent. 17 MR. DUNN: I'm sorry. Yes, my name is David Dunn. 18 am with Hogan Lovells, and I will be representing the Milligan 19 plaintiffs for this witness. We don't have an objection, Your 17:09:49 20 Honor, except we'd like to reserve the right to ask some 21 questions on cross-examination that would go to the scope and 22 the weight potentially of the witnesses's testimony if that's 23 acceptable. JUDGE MARCUS: You are perfectly free to do that. 24 17:10:05 25 For the Singleton folks, I am not sure that you are going

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to do any cross here, but I just wanted to give you that opportunity. And if you were going to exercise it, whether you had any objection to qualifying Mr. Bryan as an expert in the fields Mr. Davis specified.

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MR. BLACKSHER: We have no objections to his being qualified in those fields, Your Honor, and, yes, we would like the opportunity to cross-examine him. We will need at least an hour. I have agreed with counsel for the Milligan and Caster plaintiffs to go last, so I'm sort of putting my marker down now. Before Mr. Bryan leaves for parts unknown, I need an hour left for me, please.

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JUDGE MARCUS: You will have the opportunity to cross-examine him as fully as you deem appropriate.

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Having said that, Mr. Bryan is accepted as an expert, Mr. Davis, in the fields that you have specified, and you may proceed with your examination.

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MR. DAVIS: Thank you.

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BY MR. WILSON:

17:11:14 20

Q Mr. Bryan, are you familiar with traditional redistricting principles?

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A Yes, I am.

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Where do you look to find out what those are?

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A The most common source that I look to nationally as the starting point if I am going to get kind of the ground truth

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nationwide would be an organization called NCSL, National

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Conference State Legislature, widely regarded as the kind of go-to organization for information like that. They've got a variety of different traditional districting principles that are in common use throughout the United States.

Q Thank you. Tell us what some of those traditional districting principles are one by one and describe them, please, just in brief fashion?

A Yeah, sure, of course.

Some of the guidance that they recommend that I see followed in different cases in the United States are things such as compactness, contiguity. I think as Dr. Duchin described earlier, there is a variety of different types of contiguity, and we strongly advocate that.

Preservations of geographic, political subdivisions, preservations of communities of interest, what we would call COIs. They also recommend things such as not pairing incumbents. They don't want to unnecessarily put incumbents that may already represent a constituency, pit them against each other in an election.

There are some other emerging principles, maybe not necessarily traditional or existing principles, but there's kind of a movement more recently to do things like try to remove partisanship, for example, or introduce this concept of proportionality into the redistricting process.

Those are pretty much the scope of the most widely used

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and referred to traditional principles.

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Q These emerging principles you mentioned, addressing partisanship and proportionality, what kind of proportionality do you mean?

A Basically coming up with neutral like data science based ways of balancing population and kind of prioritizing less emphasis on other redistricting principles. It's not an area that's widely used, and it's not an area that I understand is being used -- leveraged in the Alabama case.

Q I know that a couple of states that have new districting commissions to draw districts for different bodies, the states have -- may say that we prefer that if 30 percent of the statewide vote went Democrat, then we would prefer 30 percent of the state legislative seats be Democrat. Is that the kind of proportionality you are talking about?

A Yeah, that's correct.

Q What about preserving the core of districts? Is that a recognized traditional districting principle?

A Sure. Sure. Yeah, it is. It's, you know, kind of a part of a tenet what we would call continuity of representation.

Making sure that you don't pair incumbents kind of follows under that same principle assuring that if there is a community of interest population that's been represented by a particular representative, he or she has a chance of continuing that representation. And then obviously, ensuring as you

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redistrict, the degree to which you keep districts whole and 2 don't change them unnecessarily to meet changing criteria is important to ensuring that continuity of representation. 3 Why should a map drawer observe traditional districting 17:15:17 5 criteria, Mr. Bryan? I think that these are very well-established criteria. 6 7 They're long standing, and they give us a common of set of rules and guidelines that when we go through this extremely important difficult process of redistricting, they are a bit of quidance that we can use and we can all refer to. And whether 17:15:40 10 11 you agree on whether one may be more important or less 12 important than another one, at least, all the parties that are 1.3 involved know what those different principles are and have a 14 common rule book to play by. You know, in -- can you give us an estimate of how many 17:15:56 15 times you have been retained to draw a plan or assist in 16 17 drawing a plan? 18 Yes. My estimated in the 20 years of doing this for the 19 purpose of districting and political redistricting is 17:16:17 20 approximately -- the number of cases I have work on is approximately 50. If you were to say what are the number of 21 22 plans that I have drawn or attempted to draw underneath those 23 cases, they would be in the hundreds. As you have seen in this case, some of the other plaintiffs have brought, you know, 24 17:16:37 25 experts that have drawn, four, five, six, ten different maps,

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you know, just for this one particular case.

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So there is a number of cases versus how many maps are drawn are two different metrics.

- Q When somebody hires you and says, you know, Mr. Bryan, we want you to help us draw new districts for our local school board or for our county commission or for our state Senate, do you usually start with a blank outline of the jurisdiction, or do you start from the previous plan?
- A Yeah. So the first thing that I would do is since I do redistricting across the United States, I work in many different states that have the different prioritization of the different principles. But more often than not, the starting point for doing redistricting or political redistricting is to begin with the plan that's in place, again, trying to conform with the principle of continuity of representation. And then I would typically seek to learn about communities of interest, the political landscape, the priorities of the policy makers, and try and help best understand how we can adopt that plan to be best suited to the new demographic reality after we have a census.
- Q Thank you. In the course of your work in this case, have you had an opportunity to assess the plan passed by the Legislature last November, the congressional plan?
- A I have had an opportunity to assess the plan, yes.
- Q Okay. I would like to show you -- this is Defense

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Exhibit 1. Is this a copy of the report that you provided in 1 2 Singleton versus Merrill? 3 Yes. It appears to be. Okay. I want to refer you to page 67 of that report. 17:18:46 5 Is this the plan passed by the Alabama Legislature and signed by the governor just a couple of months ago? 6 7 Yes, that's correct. I want to now look at the next page, page 68? Sure. Α Would you please explain to the Court what are you showing 17:19:04 10 11 us with this map? Sure. There is a dark outline, a heavy dark outline, and 12 1.3 that shows the outline of the existing plan. There is another 14 outline sometimes layered underneath it because there's a lot of continuity of these districts that shows what the 17:19:34 15 16 adjustments were to the existing plan and what the differences 17 are of the existing plan to the new plan. 18 And what I see in this plan is that it largely represents what I would call a least-changes plan. There are no wholesale 19 17:19:59 20 significant changes in the geography except what appears to be necessary in order to achieve one person one vote balance 21 22 population requirements. 23 I see. And what does this show us that the Legislature did with District 5 in the northern part of the state? 24

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Sure. So it appears that he took District 5, which ran

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east to west and slightly reduced the size of that to reduce 2 the population there, and this would suggest that perhaps the 3 -- relative to the rest of the state, there may have been more population there than in some other parts of the state where 17:20:40 5 boundaries had to be expanded to add population. I see. And what does it mean when district has to give up 6 7 geography? What does that tell us about whether the district was underpopulated or overpopulated after the 2020 census? Sure. Typically, if you are going to reduce the 9 geography, that means that it was overpopulated, and that 17:21:01 10 11 excess population needs to be moved to other districts that may have been more equitably populated or perhaps underpopulated. 12 13 And then if a district had to expand in geography, does 14 that mean it was underpopulated or overpopulated? Yes, that's typically the interpretation, that's correct. 17:21:21 15 16 Yeah. Okay. What do you see that the Legislature did 17 with District 7 in this map? 18 Yes, sir. District 7 is -- it's a very interesting 19 district. I see looking at the existing outline where it goes 17:21:42 20 up into Birmingham. It has this narrow thread kind of pushing up to the northeast, and then kind of similarly to the south, 21 22 kind of the south central part of it. There was some irregular 23 geography down there, as well. And what -- from this map alone without knowing the characteristics in any of the population, 24 17:22:05 25 which were not taken into my understanding is we're not taking

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into account in the drawing of the map, I can see that the 2 outline, the boundaries of District 7 seem to have been what's 3 called generalized. They have been simplified. In laymen's terms, you could say they were cleaned up. And that was 17:22:26 5 probably in an effort to improve the compactness of the district while they adjusted it in an effort to balance its 7 population. District 7 was underpopulated after the 2020 census, 8 correct? That's my understanding, yes. 17:22:41 10 11 Yes. This area in the southern part, is it correct that the Legislature undid what was previously a split of Clarke 12 1.3 County? 14 I cannot speak to that. Fine. You probably don't have the right information in 17:22:57 15 16 front of you at the time. 17 I did not. I am aware of the Birmingham changes. 18 Sure. Did you assess the demographics of the 2021 plan? 19 I did. Α 17:23:11 20 And we are going to turn now to page 16 of your report. This is still Defense Exhibit 1. 21

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Is this where you present the demographic of the new congressional plan passed by the Alabama Legislature?

These are four tables showing the total population, Yes. the Voting Age Population, for the existing plan and then --

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the for the new plan, so four tables of data representing the 2 seven districts in total. 3 So you on this page, page 16 of D-1 --17:23:52 5 Yes. -- you addressed demographics of both the new 6 congressional districts and the previous congressional districts? That's correct. What do you see here about how the demographics changed, 17:23:59 10 if they did, in District 7? 11 12 What's very interesting about this, I would note first 1.3 that the plan is legal and compliant. When I look in Table 4.3 14 under total population, I can see that the deviation there is all within one person. It's a first thing as an expert that I 17:24:19 15 16 would always check for. 17 The next thing that I would look at is what was the 18 population at the time of the census of what the existing plan 19 was. That is, how much did the existing districts and the 17:24:35 20 existing plan need to change in order to get that equitably 21 balanced population we see in Table 4.3. 22 So as you can see, in Table 4.5, that is our starting 23 point. And as you can see after ten years of the census, the 24 population is unbalanced. This is why we have a law saying that we need to redistrict.

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17:24:58 25

Some of these districts, such as District 1, District 3, District 5, overpopulated. And then there are some districts, such as District 7 in particular, District 2, to a lesser degree, that are underpopulated.

In the process of redistricting, District 7 needed to have its population increased from 664,611 up to 717,754.

What is notable to me as I assess this plan is I go over and I look at the composition of that population change. So I examine what I have referred to as the black-alone population or what I have referred to as all black. Others are referred to as any-part black population, because it gives us a comprehensive, a thorough view of the change in the population that drove the rebalancing during the redistricting process.

What I noticed as I examined this was that as you will see in District 7, Table 4.5, if you read across, there's approximately 404,000 blacks that were in the existing District 7, approximately 415,000 if you look at any-part black or the all-black population.

If you go back up to Table 4.3, what is noticeable is that those black populations who existed at the time of the census were actually reduced as part of the process of redistricting.

Now, it's my understanding that race did not have a factor, in fact, wasn't even looked at as part of the process.

But as part of the process of drawing new balanced compact districts, it is, in fact, an artifact of that process that the

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black population was reduced by approximately 5,000 give or take if you were looking at black alone or the all-black population.

The results of that is that the percent black in District 7 was reduced from 62.4 percent to 57.1 percent. It was effectively -- even though that was not the objective of drawing District 7, that is an outcome of it.

So that outcome was driven further by the fact that the map drawer, who I do not know, had to add approximately 50,000 people to that district in order to make it whole. And the vast majority of the people who were added had to have been non-black population, which were overwhelmingly white but some Asian, Hispanics, native and Pacific islanders, and other smaller populations that were put together in order to drive the balancing of the population.

Q Let's try to put that together, Mr. Bryan. Back to 4.5, just to make sure a couple of points that you made are clear for the record.

This chart shows what the population was in the old district lines but with 2020 census data; is that correct?

- A Yes, sir.
- Q Okay. So we know -- well, what after the 2020 census was the ideal population of the 7 congressional districts in
- 24 | Alabama?

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17:28:37 25 A So seven, it's fractional because you can't divide it

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exactly, but it's 717,754. So you think you have one layer 2 with 755. It takes into account the fractions. 3 Gotcha. So we can look at your Table 4.5 and with some addition and subtraction figure out how much each district 17:28:59 5 needed to shrink or grow by population? Yes. 6 7 Okay. And you found that after the redistricting process the number of African-Americans in District 7 went down? That's correct. And in no matter which way you measure whether it is black alone or any-part black, there is less 17:29:18 10 11 black population in District 7 than was there before. 12 MR. DAVIS: At this point, Your Honor, I am about to move to an assessment -- to Mr. Bryan's assessment of the 1.3 14 Singleton plan, a new subject. I am happy to continue as long as the Court would like. If you wish to break at our usual 17:29:37 15 16 time, I am about to enter into a new subject area. 17 JUDGE MARCUS: Well, this is about 5:30. This would 18 be our usual time. 19 So we will pick up the thread tomorrow morning. But we 17:29:52 20 will pick up the thread at 8:30 Central Standard Time, so you will get an extra half hour in tomorrow. 21 22 Quick question, just so I have some sense: Rough sense, 23 about how much time you have with Mr. Bryan, Mr. Davis, 24 remaining? 17:30:12 25 MR. DAVIS: Your Honor, my best guess would be two to

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two-and-a-half hours. That might be long. There's so much 1 2 that he has to go through with the three cases. 3 JUDGE MARCUS: I understand. We are not holding you to it. I am just trying to get a sense of whether we 17:30:28 5 realistically will be able to finish tomorrow. 6 Ms. Khanna, how long do you think you will be? 7 MS. KHANNA: I still think we will probably be about an hour on our cross. 9 JUDGE MARCUS: Okay. And, Mr. Dunn, what's your sense 17:30:42 10 to the extent you have? 11 MR. DUNN: I would say an hour to an hour-and-a-half, 12 Your Honor. 13 JUDGE MARCUS: And, Mr. Blacksher, you needed an hour, 14 you said. MR. BLACKSHER: Yes, Your Honor. 17:30:51 15 16 JUDGE MARCUS: So by my count, we have about 17 five-and-a-half to six-and-a-half hours in all. But we'll see 18 where we go. I only say that so that you may have time for the 19 Singleton and Caster folks to put someone else on, on Friday 17:31:17 20 later in the afternoon. You may want to just have them lined 21 up. And we'll just take it from there. 22 With that, I thank you. Unless there's anything else --23 MR. DUNN: Your Honor, I just had one small thing, because I think Mr. Bryan has only testified once before. 24 17:31:34 25 Could I ask the Court to caution him that overnight he should

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not discuss his testimony with anyone whatsoever? 1 2 JUDGE MARCUS: Sure. I understand, Mr. Bryan understands the rules, and I know the lawyers do. 3 With that, I thank you --17:31:45 5 MR. DUNN: Okay. Great. JUDGE MARCUS: With that -- Judge Manasco? 6 7 JUDGE MANASCO: Judge Marcus, I was just going to let everybody know that Frankie will open the Zoom at 8:00 a.m. 8 tomorrow since we will be begin court at 8:30 so people can start being allowed in at 8:00. 17:31:57 10 11 JUDGE MARCUS: All right. With that, I thank you all. 12 Have a good evening, and we will see you back here at 8:30 1.3 Central Standard Time tomorrow. 14 (Whereupon, the above proceedings were concluded at 15 5:32 p.m.) 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 2.3 24 25 Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR

CERTIFICATE I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter. 01-06-2022 Christina K. Decker, RMR, CRR Date Federal Official Court Reporter ACCR#: